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[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LABOURISM, SOCIALISM OR ANARCHISM.

THE ETERNAL QUESTION OF TACTICS.

HERE exists to-day, so many factions claiming each to lay down the course necessary to be taken by the working class towards its emancipation, that the discussion of this subject may not be out of place. Not that the position of the S.P.G.B. is in any way indefinite, or that it has altered, but simply as an extra application of Socialist principles to current working-class thought and action. That thought and action is being divided, apart from ourselves, into two opposing, but equally fallacious, directions. On the one side its absorption into what is called the "Labour" movement—really a movement for the return of members of the working-class to represent the constituencies in Parliament, and on the local boards of administration; and on the other side the attempt to direct the workers from political and Parliamentary methods altogether by an endeavour to achieve working-class emancipation by economic and direct action alone. With the first we have repeatedly dealt, and it is here only necessary to repeat that "Labour" representation, except as denoting the representation of labour's consciousness of its class position and a recognition of the remedy, is utterly futile to effect any change in that position. This is being proved with increasing obviousness by the political bankruptcy of the Labour Party. With regard to the second, however, we have hitherto not considered it necessary to awaken the echoes of a discussion which raged in the early stages of the development of the Socialist idea, but which at this period are supposed to be the exclusive possession of the dreamers and the idealists hopelessly out of touch with the real factors in the struggle.

The anarchist, by whatever new name he may choose to be known, by the present advocacy of shunning the political side of the struggle, is endeavouring to blind the working class to the most effective weapon it has in the prosecution of the class struggle. To pretend to make a more drastic assault on the position of the capitalist class by ignoring politics and adopting a policy of action in the workshop to directly take possession of the means of production is farcical. The capitalist class retain their economic power by their political power, by means of which

The Gun v. *The Fist*. they will always be able to beat the working class. Nor is it more definitely revolutionary to repudiate the "indirect" methods of political action. It can easily be, and in fact is, reactionary. The potential force to achieve working-class emancipation lies principally in the political field for the reason that the capitalists are compelled to obtain the vote of the working class in order to continue in political control. To receive that working-class sanction of capitalist society, our masters

are reduced to numerous shifts to blind the workers to the fact that they are in no real sense interested in the maintenance of capitalism; in a word, to prevent the workers from becoming class conscious.

Now assume the workers to be class conscious. Is it conceivable that they will continue to sanction the retention of capitalism by the return of capitalist politicians? Emphatically not. They will inevitably express their class-consciousness by voting Socialism at the ballot box. And when that is done we are met with numerous queries. One of them arose out of the article on the "Class Struggle," which appeared in the October S.S. "What would be the action of the S.P.G.B. if the capitalist class, in view of the possibility of an adverse vote, disfranchise the workers? Our reply was that in such an event we are faced with a new problem; the whole aspect has changed; constitutional methods are closed to us; and we are forced to adopt methods of secret organisation and physical violence. And that is the only course left open if the workers disfranchise themselves by baulking at any of the formulae imposed by the capitalist government to hinder the political return of their social and economic opponents in the class struggle. But there is little likelihood of the master class being so blind to the sociological aspect of the ballot as to attempt to rudely interfere with it. The vote is not a gift to the masses from the Government out of the beneficence of its heart: it is a social growth. As such it is a matter of very grave responsibility to deliberately court murder and bloodshed

Clemency, by acting their part towards the class they will always want to conciliate for economic reasons in too ruthless a manner. Not that the master class will hesitate at bloodshed if they deem it necessary to the maintenance of capitalist privilege: they have not hesitated to incur bloodshed and murder to maintain their full pound of flesh at Featherstone and elsewhere; but disfranchising the workers would involve the pro-capitalist workman as well as the anti-capitalist workman, and would mean the entire subversion of the evolution of government to be in form, though, for economic reasons, not in essence, more and more democratic.

Actually the problem of the methods to be adopted must be determined by the circumstances of the time. Our first move is the development of the desire for Socialism among the working class and the preparation of the political party to give expression to that desire. The move of our opponents against the successful action of that political party must determine our subsequent actions. If the fight is kept to the political field within constitutional limits, the rulers taking defeat when it comes in a spirit of contrition and resignation—well and good. If they choose

not to accept the verdict of the nation when given through the medium of their own institutions, but contest that verdict by physical force, the workers must be depended upon to repeat their verdict upon that field, and if the capitalist class follows its predecessors into the limbo of the forgotten past through an exit of blood and carnage, its blood must be on its own head.

The important thing is for the political workers to gain control of the political machine, because that political machine is the real centre of social control—not made so by capitalist rulers, but developed and evolved into being the brain of the social organism in conformity with the evolution of that organism. To control that organism in the interest of their own class the workers must gain possession of the instrument of control. Against the frontal attack of the capitalist class, and the flank movements of its friends, the emasculated "labourism" of the Labour Party on the one side, and the suicidal "direct action" on the other, the working class must keep its ranks well closed and its head clear. They must not believe the armies approaching on the flanks are reinforcements just because they say they are. The capitalist class itself says it is on the side of labour but only the greenest believe it, for all that. It may be that those holding views in any direction dissimilar to ours believe those views to be correct ones, but except that we must recognise how far their material interests are served by their attitude towards us, we may of course still oppose them on the ground of that dissimilarity. In those cases where the political attitude is one obviously dictated by the desire for the loaves and fishes it is better to frankly state the impossibility of intellectual reasons outweighing economic ones. The most that could happen as an outcome of the permeation of the Socialist idea among members of the capitalist ranks would be for them to act as a break on the rest of their class. This factor, little as it may be in importance, only increases the dubiousness of their action in resorting to such measures as the disfranchisement of the workers, such measures requiring a more than usual unanimity in their ranks.

Given, then, the Socialist idea firmly set in the mind of the working class, any action taken by the masters to prevent the realisation of that idea would be checked by the workers if solidly organised into the Socialist Party; while a final appeal to physical force hastened by the destruction of constitutional means would leave

The "vastly outnumber their tyrants Socialist in war." In view of all the facts, *Attitude*, the Socialist Party of Great Britain enters the field of political action determined to wage war etc., etc. D.K.

[CONTINUED FROM OCTOBER ISSUE.]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.
By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

INCREASING NUMBER OF LARGE CONCERN COMBINES.

If the extension of a concern forces its owner, the capitalist, to engage officials in order to lighten his task, the increase in the surplus-value due to the extension recompenses him for that expenditure. The larger the surplus-value, the more of his functions is the capitalist able to transfer to officials, until he has at last rid himself entirely of his management, so that he has left only the "anxiety" of advantageously investing that part of his profit which he does not consume.

The number of concerns that have arrived at such a condition increases from year to year. That is proved most clearly by the growing number of Joint Stock Companies, where, as even the most superficial observer must recognise, the person of the capitalist has already ceased to be of any importance, only his capital being significant. In England 57 Joint Stock Companies were formed in 1845, 341 in 1861, 2,550 in 1888, and 4,735 in 1896. There were 11,000 companies, with a share capital of over £600,000,000 actively engaged in 1888, and 21,223 companies with a share capital of £1,150,000,000 in 1896.

It was considered that by the introduction of the system of share capital, a means had been found to make the advantages of larger concerns accessible to the small capitalists. But, like the system of credit, the system of share capital, which is only a particular form of credit, is, on the contrary, a means of placing the capital of the "smaller fry" at the disposal of the large capitalists.

Since the person of the capitalist can be dispensed with as far as his undertaking is concerned, anybody possessing the necessary capital can embark in industry, whether he understands anything about the particular trade or not. Hence it is possible for a capitalist to own and control concerns of the most varied kinds, having perhaps no connection one with the other. It is very easy for the large capitalist to obtain control over Joint Stock Companies. He only needs to own a large proportion of their shares—which can easily be purchased—in order to make the undertakings dependent upon him and subservient to his interests.

Finally, it must be stated that generally, large capital increases more rapidly than small capital, because the larger the capital the greater (under otherwise equal conditions) the total amount of profit, and hence also the income (revenue) which it yields; also, the smaller the proportion of the profit consumed by the capitalist for his own use, the larger the portion he is able to add as new capital to that already accumulated. A capitalist whose undertaking yields him £500 a year, will, according to capitalist ideas, be able to live only modestly on such income. He will be fortunate if he succeeds in putting by £100—one-fifth of his profit—a year. The capitalist whose capital is large enough to yield him an income of £5,000 is in a position, even if he consumes for himself and his family five times as much as the first mentioned capitalist, to turn at least three-fifths of his profit into capital. And if the capital of a capitalist happens to be so considerable that it yields him £50,000 a year, it will be difficult for him, if he is a normal being, to use for his living one-tenth of his income, so that, though indulging in luxuries, he will easily be able to save nine-tenths of his profits. While the small capitalists have to struggle ever harder for their existence, the larger fortunes increase by leaps and bounds, and in a short time reach immense proportions.

Let us summarise all this: the increase in the size of the undertakings; the rapid growth of the larger fortunes; the diminution in the number of undertakings; the concentration of a number of undertakings into one hand, and it then becomes clear that it is the tendency of the capitalist mode of production to concentrate the means of production, which have become the monopoly of the capitalist class, into ever fewer and fewer hands. This development is ultimately tending towards a state of things where all the means of production of a nation, nay, even of the civilised world, are becoming the private property of a single company, which is able to dispose of it at its discretion; a state of things where the entire economic structure is welded into one gigantic concern, in which all have to serve one single master and everything belongs to one single owner. Private property in the means of production in capitalist society leads to a condition where all are propertyless with the exception of one single person. It leads, indeed, to its own abolition, to the dispossession of all, to the enslavement of all. But the development of capitalist commodity-production leads also to the abolition of its own basis. Capitalist exploitation becomes contradictory, if the exploiter can find no other purchasers of his commodities than those exploited by him. If the wage-workers are the only consumers, then the products embodying the surplus become unsaleable—valueless. Such a condition would be as terrible as it would be impossible. It can never come to that, because the mere approach to such a condition must so intensify the sufferings, antagonisms and contradictions in society that they become unbearable, that society collapses if the development has not previously been steered into a different channel. But if this condition will never actually be reached, we are rapidly drifting that way, indeed, more rapidly than most imagine. For while on the one hand the concentration of the separate capitalist concerns into fewer hands is proceeding, on the other hand with the development in the division of labour the mutual dependence of the seemingly independent undertakings is growing, as we have already seen. This mutual dependence, however, becomes continually more a one-sided dependence of the small capitalists upon the larger ones. Just as most of the seemingly independent workers carrying on home industries in reality are only wage-workers of the capitalist, so there are already

many capitalists having the appearance of independence, yet subservient to others, and many capitalist concerns that appear to be independent are in reality merely branches of one huge capitalist undertaking. And this dependence of the smaller capitalists upon the larger increases perhaps more rapidly than the concentration of the various concerns in the hands of the few. The economic fabrics of capitalist nations are already to-day, in the last resort, dominated and exploited by a few giant capitalists, and the concentration in the hands of a few firms is little else than a mere change of form.

While the economic dependence of the great mass of the population upon the capitalist class is growing, within the capitalist class itself the dependence of the majority upon a minority (decreasing in number but ever increasing in power and wealth) becomes always greater. But this greater dependence brings no more security to the capitalists than to the proletarians, handicraftsmen, petty traders, and peasants. On the contrary, with them, as with all others, the insecurity of their position keeps pace with their growing dependence. Of course, the smaller capitalists suffer most in that respect, but the largest capital, nowadays does not enjoy complete security.

We have already referred to a few causes of the growing insecurity of capitalist undertakings, for instance, that the sensitiveness of the entire fabric as far as it is affected by external disturbances, increases; but as the capitalist method of production intensifies the antagonisms between the different classes and nations, and causes the masses facing each other to swell and their means of combat to become ever more formidable, it creates more opportunities for disturbance, which give rise to greater devastations. The growing productivity of labour not only increases the surplus-value usurped by the capitalist, but it also increases the amount of commodities which are placed on the market, and which the capitalist is compelled to dispose of. With the growing exploitation competition becomes more intensified, as does also the bitter struggle of investor against investor. And hand in hand with this development there proceeds a continual technical evolution; new inventions and discoveries are increasingly going forward, and in so doing destroy the value of existing things, thus making not only individual workers and single machines, but entire plants of machinery and even whole industries superfluous.

No capitalist can rely upon the future; none knows with certainty whether he will be in a position to retain what he has acquired and leave it to his children. The capitalist class increasingly splits up into two sections: one section, growing in number, has become quite superfluous economically, and has nothing to do but squander and waste the increasing mass of usurped surplus-value that is not used as fresh capital. If one calls to mind what we have mentioned in the previous chapter regarding the position of the educated in present society, one will not be astonished to find that by far the larger number of the rich idlers are throwing their money away on mere coarse pleasures. The other section of the capitalists, those who have not yet become superfluous in their own undertakings, is decreasing in number, but their anxieties and responsibilities increase. While one section of the capitalists is decaying more and more owing to idle profligacy, the other section is perishing by never-ceasing competition. But the insecurity of existence of both sections grows. Thus the present method of production does not permit even the exploiters, even those who monopolise and usurp all the tremendous advantages, a complete enjoyment of them.

The great modern crises, which convulse the world-market, arise from over-production, which again is the consequence of the anarchy necessarily connected with the production of commodities. Over-production in the sense that more is produced than is required can take place under any system of production. But it can, of course, do no harm if the producers produce for their own use. If, for instance, a primitive peasant-family harvest more corn than they require, they store up the surplus for times of bad harvests, or in case of their barns being full, they feed their cattle with it, or at the worst leave it on the field.

It is different in the case of the production of commodities. This production in its developed form presupposes that nobody produces for himself.

[To be continued.]

THE ANTI-SOCIALISTS AT TOTTENHAM.

TOTTENHAM—where the I.L.P. have long since ceased from troubling and the S.D.P. are at rest—has been honoured. The Anti-Socialist Union decreed that our time had come. Tottenham was to be saved from us, and we of the S.P.G.B. were to be finally and definitely put to rout. Well, we heard of the coming conflict, and trembling—with joy, awaited the day of battle. Did we prepare to meet them by attacking their meetings, singing and shouting "Red Flags," etc., and generally behaving as hooligans to prevent them getting a hearing? No, such cowardly tactics would have implied a lack of confidence in our own propaganda, and is at all times an insult to the intelligence of the people. Knowing the work we have accomplished in Tottenham, and that no real argument can be brought against Socialism as propagated by the Socialist Party, we at all our meetings advertised the coming of the Anti-Socialists, and advised our hearers to attend their meetings, listen courteously to what was to be said against Socialism, and judge for themselves. At long last they came—they saw—and were conquered! Down upon Tottenham swooped the legions of the Anti-Socialist League. Three or four specially prepared gramophonic orators, each guaranteed to be able to emit "Daily Expressions" about Socialism for at least ten minutes headed each attack.

Two such attacks on Sunday evenings fizzled out immediately our ordinary meeting commenced; then a Saturday evening appearance was

(Completed on back page.)

January 1st, 1909.

January 1st, 1909.

JOTTINGS.

"The Liverpool Education Committee have completed arrangements for establishing technical evening classes for the female employees of the Ogden Branch of the Imperial Tobacco Company. The classes have been arranged at the request of the Company, who are providing the rooms, lighting, heating, and cleaning free of charge to the Education Committee."

Manchester Guardian, 21.11.08.

The public spirit of the Imperial Tobacco Company is, of course, quite disinterested.

A conference was recently held at Bradford with regard to the system of employing children half-time in mills. Mr. Jonathan Peate reported on the conference to the Council of the Leeds Chamber of Commerce. In the course of his report are the following items. "Some firms employed a large number of half-timers, and if the abolition of this class of labour took place, or if the age limit was increased, it would be a great hardship to those firms." Again: "In many cases, also, half-timers were earning an income which, if the system was abolished, would make a serious difference to, and cause great hardship to, the families to which they belonged." And further: "These children were receiving training in the practical work of a mill which must be of the utmost value to them in later years, when they had to earn their own livelihood."

Funny, isn't it? Thus are the interests of capital and labour identical. The half-timers are charitably employed because of the *hardship* to their families if deprived of their small wages: the employer will also suffer *hardship* if he cannot employ them, and has to employ some adult (perhaps the half-timer's father) to do the same work at higher wages.

And when the little beggars cease to eat in idleness the bread of charity, and are compelled to take life seriously and begin "to earn their own livelihood," such training really might be of "the utmost value to them," if they are not unemployed owing to a new generation of half-timers having supplanted them. In this case it would seem that their only hope lies in the direction of begetting baby breadwinners (did anyone say "Socialism"?) as soon as possible.

The cry of the parents driven by economic pressure to send their children to work in order that subsistence level may be reached by the aid of their wages, is on a par with the cry of the "We cannot see them starve" sufferer from sentimental diarrhoea, who wants to do something for the unemployed under capitalism. He does something for them by blinding them to the only solution, in urging them to look for help to the class whose existence depends on a continuance of a reserve of unemployed labour.

A delegate to a deputation of teachers who visited Mr. McKenna on November 5th, 1907, showed how reforms may be made of no avail towards combatting the evils they are, ostensibly, directed against. Mr. Sykes (N.U.T.), speaking of half-timers, said that in 21 years experience he "had never known a child rejected as physically unfit, although some of them were not robust enough to be allowed in the playground."

The *Manchester Guardian* (6.11.07), dealing with this matter, said in effect, the half-timer keeps down the wages of adults by the competition of his cheaper labour, and is in turn forced, by entering unskilled employment, to a lifetime of low wages, and is flung into the industrial system whilst he should be playing.

There has never been a Socialist speech delivered in the House; no Conference of the Labour Party has ever accepted Socialism except as a pious opinion. In some form the House of Commons would accept a Socialist resolution, provided there were no committal, but even that

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step has never been ventured."

Ben Tillett in *Justice*, 5.12.08.

* * *

This is hard on our S.D.P. M.P., Will Thorne, but so far as one can see, if Ben Tillett is elected for the Eccles Division he will be on the same basis as Thorne. He will be elected as the "labour" candidate for Eccles, and not as an avowed Social-Democrat, vide S.D.P. rule 41, and rule 12 cannot be enforced by the E.C. of the S.D.P. any more than in the case of Mr. Thorne. We are not likely to hear a Socialist speech from Mr. Tillett, however, because on July 20th, 1907, he "was adopted by the Eccles Division Labour Party as Labour candidate, with the distinct understanding from the Dockers' Union that his title should be 'Labour Candidate.'" As wrote the General Secretary of the Eccles Division Labour Party, on October 8th, 1908, to the *Manchester Evening News*, correcting a statement that Mr. Tillett was "the adopted Social-Democratic candidate for Eccles." I have seen no repudiation of this statement so far. Mr. J. R. McDonald, also, in a published letter to Mr. Tillett, tells him he is "one of our candidates."

* * *

Referring to the unemployed, Mr. Grayson said that Mr. Blatchford was at present organising a scheme for feeding the hungry. If they ran short of funds they would appeal to Rothschild, the Duke of Portland, and the like, to put down a bit of their surplus cash, and if that appeal failed, all they could then say to the unemployed was "use your own savage discretion." If they could not get work and could not get food, then, without inciting, they would gently indicate that it was their indefeasible right to have bread." — *Manchester Guardian*, 7.11.08.

* * *

Poverty is rife under capitalist society to-day, so we will beg of the capitalist class to relieve our needs, not by disbursing *all* their surplus wealth, but just a bit of it. If we were to ask too much "that appeal" might fail. And when it comes to standing the hungry up "all in a row" before the rifles of the military, you won't catch us inciting. Oh, no! That's risky. They might not accept our humble apologies so readily as they did Bill Thorne's. And the "stone jug"! — they say you have to be quiet there!

* * *

If the workers cannot afford enough to keep the unemployed fed, we will ask the Rothschilds and others to be charitable. We will leave it to their generosity—we want no semblance of compelling them to disgorge by the strength of our class-conscious organisation. Not at all! We'll ask them "to put down a bit of their surplus cash," and only when that appeal fails will we tell the workers that theirs is the indefeasible right to have, not only bread, but all else they require.

* * *

Even as a vote-catching dodge, this is pitiable, for the other axe-grinders can out-bribe them every time. If the Blatchford brigade give soup, the Liberal party will offer soup and pudding, and the Tory party will come along with soup, pudding, blanket, a suit of clothes and an overcoat to wrap them up, and will scoop the lot. The race is to the rich, votes to the highest bidder, until the workers are taught what Socialism is: then they will no longer be bought and sold for a mess of pottage or a drink at the bar, will no longer be exploited in "charity," either for the benefit of Liberal or Tory politician, noisy numper on the "labour" movement, or the circulation of the "smart" journal of a "smart" set—much too smart for anything deeper than flirtation with Socialism.

* * *

PROSPERITY UNDER PROTECTION.

Unemployment in New York State.

Idle continuously for 3 months, Jan., Feb. & March.

Idle last day of March.

Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
1906 24,746	6.5	37,239	9.9
1907 65,642	13.8	77,270	19.1
1908 101,166	26.3	138,131	35.7

Fortnightly Review, Dec., '08.

WHERE LABOR IS ROBBED.

Labor is robbed where labor is employed, and, directly, nowhere else. Labor is robbed in the pay envelope, and the hand that reaches the pay envelope to him and no other, directly, is in his pocket.

Labor cannot be robbed in the prices it is compelled to pay for the commodities which it consumes. For the good and sufficient reason that the cost of living determines wages. Wages always hover about the cost of subsistence. If provisions and clothing are dear, wages must go up to meet the increased cost of living, since the laborer must live before he can work. If the employer gets his profits, he must see to it somehow that his wage-slave is in working condition, just as the farmer must see to it that his horses must have hay and stable if he is to have the benefit of their labor. The cost of hay is of no particular concern to the horses.

In an accommodated sense, labor can be "robbed" in the quality of the goods consumed, by means of fraud and adulteration but not in price.

A Battle Creek contributor to last week's "Wage Slave," for example, says that "the hand of the rich man is externally in the poor man's pocket for taxes or for the price of meat." This is not correct. The hand of the rich man, i.e., the employer, is in the employee's pocket in one manner only, and that is in withholding from him, in the pay envelope, four-fifths of the value he has created. They can't make the wage-earner pay one penny of the taxes, Municipal, State, or National; and if meat sold at a dollar a pound, that wouldn't affect him in the slightest degree, either, so long as other commodities advanced correspondingly. If the price of meat advances out of proportion to the cost of other food-stuffs containing the same dynamic energy, the result will be simply to change the form of his diet, but it can't possibly affect his income or make it easier or harder for him to save anything.

The only workingmen in whose pockets the Beef Trust has its hands are its own employees, whom it robs, as other employers do, in their pay envelopes, and the farmer who is robbed in his pay envelope, too, in an arbitrary depression of prices.

That the wage-earners do not pay the taxes is directly evident with the great majority of them who have nothing to tax. But it is none the less certainly true of those, also, who possess a small property and are rated as taxpayers. In their case, such taxes as are levied upon them enter into the cost of living, and, again, the necessary cost of living determines the wages.

Tax reform, "trust-busting," cheapened transit—or if they made it free, it would be all the same—municipal lighting, lowering of rents—all these and similar measures are seen to be purely Middle-Class measures, designed either to make the big robbers divide up a little more evenly with the little robbers, or to enable the employing class to house and feed their wage-slaves more cheaply and, consequently, get them for less wages.

The one thing needful for the working-class, without which all efforts to better their condition are vanity and vexation of spirit, is the capture for collective ownership of the land and the machinery of production. When we have this, we have it all. Without we are nothing. All efforts or attempts to benefit the working-man by lowering the cost of his living will only play into the hands of the employing class.

From *The Wage Slave*.

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RECEIVED

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Trades Unionist" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago)
- "Club & Institute Journal" (London)
- "The Keel" (Tyneside)
- "Labor" (St. Louis)

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The Socialist Standard,



FRIDAY, JAN. 1, 1909.

Much Ado About Nothing.

We refer, of course, to Mr. Asquith's speech of the eleventh of December, at a dinner given in commemoration of a Liberal defeat. "We are met," said the Premier on that auspicious occasion, "to celebrate a failure." The Lords had inconsiderately slaughtered a Liberal licensing bill, and sour-faced Nonconformity had in consequence been cheated of its sop. Weeks had been spent by the Commons in dreary talk in the passing of that measure, and tons of unreadable printed matter had been issued, but this had not prevented it going the way it had been expected it would, and perhaps intended it should, go—apparently to the relief of the majority outside. The bill, indeed, was utterly worthless to the workers, and quite hopeless in the promotion of temperance: its only function seems to have been to square the electoral account for nonconformists and teetotal support.

The collapse of the so-called Education Bill, added to the violent death of the licensing measure, had depressed the Liberal party and made many of its supporters disconcerted, and it became incumbent on Mr. Asquith to give a rallying cry to decaying Liberalism, and revive the drooping fortunes of his party. And to the accompaniment of loud and prolonged cheering the anxiously awaited pronouncement was made public. "I invite the Liberal Party from to-night," said the hero of Featherstone, "to treat the veto of the House of Lords as the dominating issue in politics." Hardly inspiring, this, as a rallying cry, even if it were not mere sound and fury, signifying nothing. Indeed, what did the Premier propose to do to make his dominating issue a reality? Was the party to go to the country forthwith upon the issue and fight the Lords? No, quoth Mr. Asquith, that would be to admit the right of the Lords "to dictate both the occasion and the date of a dissolution." So the Liberals were going to be brave—and to submit. The hollowness of Liberalism hardly needed further demonstration. "Down with the Lords" is again to be its empty rallying cry; and although the House of Lords has not yet gone to Jericho, still its walls are expected to crumble at a shout, for certainly the Liberals are prepared to do nothing more.

It cannot be denied that there exist powerful constitutional weapons against the Lords which the Liberals could use were they sincere, but wherever capitalist interests are endangered Liberal and Tory have two minds with but a single thought, two hearts that beat as one. In view of working-class unrest, does not the second chamber offer a possible barrier to working-class advance should other obstacles not suffice? And does not this account for the tenderness with which the Lords are treated by the Liberals, and partly, also, for the enormous number of peers which the latter create? Not, however, that we are enamoured of a reform of the House of Lords, for the reform of a rotten institution simply serves to perpetuate that institution, and

a House of Lords reformed would undoubtedly be a House of Lords strengthened as a weapon against the workers. Nevertheless the fatuity of Liberalism in this respect, as in regard to their projected Land Tax, cannot escape recognition. The fiscal reform of the Liberals, indeed, is at least as futile as the fiscal reform of the Tories, as far as working-class interests are concerned.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7 p.m.

to the full that the rallying cries and faction fights of Liberals *versus* Tories are in very truth rightly said to be "much ado about nothing." Indeed, if the workers are not prepared to take a stand with their comrades in the Socialist Party and fight their own battles, then there is no power can save them from the deepening misery that threatens.

The Powder Trust and Peace.

We cull the following curious note from the daily paper of December 14th.

The Powder Trust as an agency for the prevention of war was the curious anomaly disclosed in the Federal investigation into the Gunpowder Trade Association just concluded at Cleveland, Ohio.

The members of the Trust declared they possessed the power to obviate war by refusing the supply of gunpowder to the nations. As late as 1906 the firms constituting the Trust bound themselves under a heavy penalty to make no sales to Governments without the consent of all the firms. They also fixed the price at which the Governments might acquire powder, thus establishing the fact that "the nations of the world are the playthings of a Trust."

As in most bourgeois reasoning, however, there is an important flaw in the above association of the Powder Trust with peace. Peace means bad trade to a powder Trust. War means good trade and high profits. The Powder Trust is formed, not for philanthropy, but for high profits. It wants to increase the use of gunpowder, hence the very economic basis of the Powder Trust clearly determines that it shall, like the army, the navy, the makers of artillery, etc., throw the whole of such influence as it possesses against peace and in favour of war. Whatever good intentions the members of the Powder Trust might have, they all vanish before material interests, and even on the subject of good intentions one is forcibly reminded of the concentrated cant and humbug of the "peace" conferences at the Hague.

Moreover, the Liberal Labour bankruptcy on the question of unemployment could hardly be made clearer. Along with the boasted avalanche of Liberal measures—all conceived in the interest of the ruling class—the position of the worker has been steadily growing worse. Statistics convey a quite inadequate idea of the extent of dumb suffering and poverty that exists among the workers from this cause. Mr. William Redmond, M.P., is moved to remark in *Reynold's* that "there is no part of the world where the contrasts between luxurious wealth and miserable poverty are so marked as in England, and particularly in London." And he further adds,

We have in Ireland suffering and unemployment enough. But the humblest labourer in his cottage in the country is to be envied in comparison with the workman in the great cities who finds himself without employment. Bit by bit the little articles of the home are sacrificed. The pawnshop stretches forth the only hand of assistance often to be found. The home goes, and there is nothing left but the streets. Far preferable is the lot of the poorest dweller is the countryside to this.

England has been glorified because of her great industrial progress, her mighty factories, and her great hives of industry. But when the depression of trade brings with it the discharge of workmen and the hopelessness which that entails, it is futile to talk of the glory of England's progress. She then presents a spectacle which is unparalleled in the history of the world, of the most boundless wealth on the one hand, and the direst poverty on the other.

But to these sufferings of the working class the Liberals, like the Tories, are cynically indifferent, and are, in fact, only likely to move when the workers start acting for themselves. So bad is the state of affairs, indeed, that the Labour Party, that docile tail of the Liberal bow-wow, is even moved by the callousness of the Government to murmur a faint protest. We quote from the daily paper of December 12th.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., secretary of the Labour Party, speaking at Coventry last night, said deliberately (according to the Central News Agency) that unless the Government turned over a new leaf and observed more sympathy, initiative, and determination in dealing with the serious problems of unemployment it would find the Labour Party before long in violent conflict with it.

Things must be bad indeed, when the Labour Party threatens to be in conflict with the Government! In fact, we cannot believe that it will ever come to that. The faithfulness to the Government that has hitherto characterised the "Labour" members is not likely to be disturbed. As we have been reminded on more than one occasion, they find their seats too comfortable.

For the working class, however, groaning under their increasing burden of misery, only the policy of hostility can be of use. They must, as distinct from the Labour Party, find themselves all the time in violent opposition to the capitalist Government. They must democratically champion their own interests against all sections of the capitalist party, and realise

Not having taken any space with a report of our branch's work during 1908, it is well to briefly review the year's efforts in the Romford Division. We now, unfortunately, have only two speakers—Kennett and Dawkins—but, and it is a tremendous but, these irrepressible and irrepressible comrades have thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the task of dispelling working-class ignorance whenever and wherever an opportunity arose, or one could be snatched from rolling time—to the dismay of the gimbal-eyed shufflers who infest the district, especially East Ham and Manor Park. Although we were greatly handicapped in the early part of the year by the rainy weather and the loss of our best pitch owing to an extension of "our trams," yet the year has been a successful one. We have had large audiences who now quite understand the fundamental distinction between Socialism and reform, and in consequence the local reformers have dropped (when on the stump) the municipal milk-shop fooling like a hot cinder. We have opened up a new pitch at East Ham, have also had several debates at Manor Park. Our comrades have, in sledge-hammer style, exposed the fraudulent nature of the I.L.P. and S.D.P., and challenged the locals to bring along any of their tin gods to defend in debate their respective organisations, but they resort to Fabian methods when they are sure of being flattened out—they live to fight another day. The distress hereabout is acute, yet this has not prevented our audiences from extensively purchasing our literature and equipping us with the "sinews of war"—a gratifying and significant recognition of the fact that the fight is theirs. We have not enrolled many new comrades, but we are effecting the mental revolution—it can be felt. Now is the seed time; the harvest is not yet.

CA IRA.

"Oaths of allegiance and other official oaths are still taken throughout Europe, but experience shows that in time of revolution they are violated with little scruple, and in the case of the United Kingdom it is doubtful whether they have any more practical value than, if so much as, simple declarations."—*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, p. 702, 9th Edition.

"UNITY" AS A HABIT IN ENGLAND.

St. Vincent, Minn., Oct. 11, 1908.
Editor "Trades Unionist".

Keir Hardie, following the fashion set by sundry British labor politicians, globe-trotting at the expense of capitalist newspapers, has again delivered himself of an anathema against the Canadian Socialist movement.

It is in the control, he says, of "the impossibilist element which

HAS TO BE 'DOWNED' EVERYWHERE."

If there is any place on earth where the impossibilism so deprecated by Hardie is "downed" it is in the "Appy land of Hengland," in the labor movement of which nation Hardie is one of the foremost leaders, and inasmuch as "a tree is known by its fruits," we would reasonably expect to see a forward, harmonious movement as a result of this "downing"; that is, if we were fools enough to be misled by the labor, even trade union, Christian, even free trade, even any old thing but impossibilist type of Socialist like Hardie and his ilk.

I am weekly in receipt of two old country Socialist papers, "Forward," and the London "Clarion," and there is never an issue but what is half full of "scraps" between these harmonious "compromisers" who are, unlike the Canadian Socialists, completely free from "this dogmatic and blighting creed of withering materialism." In the last issue of the London "Clarion," keeping faith with capitalist Liberals there is the Labor party executive in refusing to endorse Edward Hartley in Newcastle, who, mark you, is as immune from the suspicion of being an "impossibilist" as Hardie himself. The reason for which action, as alleged by the "Clarion" writer, is that in double constituencies the Liberals and Socialist, even Labor, etc., candidates have

ARRANGED TO SAW OFF

Hartley, by running at the request of the local I.L.P., S.D.P., Clarion Scouts and the numerous other organisations that go to make up the highly harmonious labor movement that Hardie thinks Canada needs so bad, has seriously imperilled this holy alliance of alleged Socialist leaders and Liberal capitalists; hence Hartley must be "downed" too. And this is the working out of "modern Socialism," which, Hardie says, Canadians know nothing of! Here's hoping they may long remain in ignorance of this Newcastle brand at any rate.

What is this term "impossibilism," anyway, that falls so glibly from the lips of Hardie and his type?

Will any of those "active Socialists" Hardie refers to, who are repelled by this dreadful thing, kindly explain? As one who has had this epithet fired at him times without number, and without—as is customary—any illuminating definition, I am naturally curious to know. Reasoning it out by comparing a known "impossibilist" with a gentleman known not to be such, I have reached this conclusion. An "impossibilist" is a Socialist who, knowing that in Socialism alone lies

THE ONLY HOPE

of the workers, refuses to preach anything else, and refuses to stultify himself by saying so in one speech and saying something very different in another, and as a consequence is disliked by "practical" labor men.

A non-impossibilist can do both of these things and becomes very popular, a great labor leader, etc., etc.

An impossibilist, knowing that reforms where they do tempt one section of the workers, invariably do so at the expense of the others, says so; and as a consequence gets further castigation from the "practical" politician, whose stock-in-trade is reform.

The impossibilist is, however, reminded that there are reforms which, if enforced, would make matters more tolerable for the workers, but knowing the nature of the class in control, he

WON'T WORK FOR THESE REFORMS

nor recommend them, because if they were put upon the statute book there would be nothing to them; but the non-impossibilist, being of a practical turn of mind, spends a quarter of a

century and untold energy in getting an old age pension at an age when most working people are dead, and an Unemployed Bill on the statute book that might as well be off for all the unemployeed would know about it.

leaders. If you knew as much as an owl you would refuse to vote for a man who was only a Socialist when not seeking office, and was afraid to label himself so when he was up for election. Wherever you see a Socialist candidate this fall who is "impossibilist" enough to make his campaign on this issue alone, viz., the

DISPOSSESSION OF THE CAPITALIST

owners of our national industries and the vesting of the title of ownership in the community, with the elected representatives of the workers who operate those industries in control, vote and work for his election. Leave the compromisers at home. If he will compromise to get elected, he will sell you out to stay elected.

In conclusion, I would ask those who read Hardie's anathema to re-read it and note where his sympathies really lie. Note the severity and contempt with which he handles his brother Socialists, who, at the worst, are merely using unwise methods of propaganda. And in contrast note his references to the "delightful experience" he had interviewing "the wealthy man who had worked his way up from poverty to affluence," and who was so "sincere," although the "unconscious humor" of his "poetic" declarations made Hardie smile, etc., etc. Go to Hardie. Get back to ancient St. Stephens and have a cup of tea with King Ed and the rest of the "me, too" Socialists. Canadian Socialism is much too modern for you or any other British labor leader to catch up with.—JOHN T. MORTIMER, in *The British Columbian Trade Unionist*, Vancouver, Nov. '08.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor.

DEAR Comrade,

May I claim the indulgence of a short space in your valuable paper, in order that there may be no error in conception, or wilful misrepresentation, of my conversion to the principles of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. First of all I recognise that the existence of a Socialist Party, as a revolutionary party, must be consistent with a rigid adoption of its principles, any deviation from that course rendering the party nugatory, and its name a misnomer, as some of our opponents are realising in the humiliating circumstances in which they find themselves when under the cross-fire of criticism that the stalwarts of the S.P.G.B. know so well how to administer. These are circumstances of which many of your readers and the public will know, I am well able to give from personal experience, as a more trenchant onslaught than I received at the hands of some of the S.P.G.B. members seldom falls to the lot of mankind. No eel in the well sanded fist of a cook, upon the eve of being skinned, ever twisted and writhed as I did, when compelled by the grip of Reason to admit the fatuity of my position.

In the political field of this purposely complex system of capitalism, there has been vast scope for the formation of various political parties, societies, and so-called Socialistic bodies,—possessing lugubrious titles, and promoted by political job-hunting rascals,—with nefarious Press, to circulate their pernicious verbiage—sucking the blood of the country year in and year out, that they may give to their descendants the sop of political power. If the great mass of the workers, environed as they are on every side with poverty, plunder, and oppression, have sufficient strength to repel these political bloodsuckers, to what can it be attributed but to a consciousness of the true inwardness of capitalism? Given that consciousness and its correct representation by a truly Socialist party, we prove our abhorrence of capitalism by uniting against it all the disciples of a Socialist Commonwealth in Britain.

Yours fraternally,
QUELCH.

If you can read, you ought to understand; if you can write, you ought to know something; if you can believe, you ought to comprehend; if you desire a thing you will have to take it; if you claim it you will not get it; and if you are experienced you ought to be useful to others.

GRIEVE.

THE APOSTLES OF LOWER WAGES.

ONCE again we turn the searchlight upon the nefarious traffic of those who, styling themselves labour leaders, support the character by leading Labour, like a lamb, to the slaughter. The latest instance of the treachery of these odorous hirelings of the capitalist class, while of no importance as an historical event, since it indicates no new phase in the record of this unspeakable band of fraticides, is of moment as showing once again, to those who have eyes to see, the face of the old enemy beneath the mask of the new friend. Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., member of the Parliamentary Labour Group, president of the Trade Unions Congress, is reported to have delivered himself of the following sentiments at the Mechanics' Institute, Nottingham, on November 30th:

"Supporters of the Bill recently rejected were hoping that it would have enabled them to deal with the drink traffic in such a manner as to put the country on a more equal footing with its industrial competitors in other countries. So long as they spent, as at present, far and away more than Germany and America per head of the population on intoxicating liquors, so long would they be liable to be beaten in industrial competition."—*Daily Chronicle*, 1.12.08.

There is, indeed, food for reflection in this message from the chief of the purveyors of soporifics to the working class of this country. In the first place it may be noticed with what a deft turn of capitalist sophistry this hireling shepherd removes the fight from the "class" field to that of race. It is not, be it observed, the filching from the worker of the greater part of the product of his toil that claims the attention of Mr. D. J. Shackleton and his cannibal pack of vampires. No! the enemy of labour is not capital; the despoiler of the worker is not that class which stand between him and the fulness of the earth—the fruit of his painful drudgery; the evil is not, mark you, rooted in the system of class domination, class possession of all that is necessary and good under the sun. No! all this is mythology, the vain vapouring of well-meaning visionaries, or the calculated seduction of far-seeing panders to the popular aspiration to better conditions. Labour has but one foe, we are told, and that is himself.

Oh! coals of fire upon those of us who dared to dream of the "brotherhood of man," and those others of us who asserted nothing higher than the oneness of the material interests of the wage-workers the whole world over—the enemy of Labour in one country is himself in all other countries. The workers of Germany and of America have taken us by the throat in the strife of industrial competition, and we must clutch at their vitals in self defence.

Alas! for our dream of emancipation without distinction of race or sex.

Oh! sackcloth and ashes for those of us who aspired to the capture of political power for the overthrow of the capitalist system, the bill is to be filled by the abolition of the House of Lords to the end that a measure shall be passed to make the British worker become more abstemious and so put "the country on a more equal footing with its industrial competitors in other countries."

Overwhelming shame on those of us who, in our visionary frenzy, declared for "the whole product to the producer"—the trouble is that the workers already get too much! They must be legislated into temperance not for temperance sake, but to "put the country on a more equal footing with its industrial competitors in other countries."

Repentance at leisure for those fools who sent Mr. D. J. Henderson and his gang of shameless harpies to the House of Commons to forward the interests of Labour—the only interest of Labour they have made any attempt to forward in this abortive effort to reduce the workers' "drink bill" so that a corresponding deduction may be made from their wages bill "to put the country on a more equal footing with its industrial competitors of other countries."

These men stand now in the broad light of day, self confessed—by the lips of their leader—apostles of lower wages for the class who are

fools enough to allow them access to their pockets in the vain hope that they will do something for them.

For how else can they pretend that the realisation of their desire to "deal with the drink traffic" can save their working-class dupes from being "beaten in industrial competition," except on the ground that lower wages would rule, and enable the manufacturer to throw commodities into the foreign market at a lower price?

Mr. Shackleton may be quite correct in his economics so far. It is admitted that notwithstanding the broad law ruling the world of commodities, making them exchange one with another according to the labour time necessary to their production, the manufacturer who secures the cheapest labour-power is certainly in a position to sell below value "to secure the business." But to argue therefrom that the workers of this country, as a result of having learnt to live cheaper and therefore to work, as these labour leeches wish them to, for smaller wages, are going to reap the benefit in the form of less unemployment, is to present a view as chimerical as it is pleasing and plausible.

If there is any truth in Mr. Shackleton's argument that the lower wages due to the lessened consumption of intoxicating liquors will enable British commodities to find a larger sale in foreign markets, it is equally true that the rise in British wages which would follow upon the more general demand for labour-power in the home labour market will have a counterbalancing effect.

For the rest, as has been recently shown in these columns, any rise of the price of labour-power at once handicaps it against its incessant competitor, machinery, the extended adoption of which throws men out of employment until the relative proportion of out-of-work in-works stands at that particular level that best suits the production of profit.

So, the object of these instruments of working-class betrayal resolves itself merely into a reduction of the working-class standard of living, a lessening of the portion of wealth produced which falls to the lot of the producer, ostensibly "to put the country on a more equal footing with its industrial competitors in other countries," but in reality in order that a larger share of the wealth produced may be left for those who do not produce it.

A high aim, friends and fellow workers of the S.D.P. and I.L.P., who bruised your shoulders against the wheel to trundle these men into the "House." A lofty and noble aspiration, brother workers of the trade unions, of whose Congress this particular individual is the presid, to direct your anxious efforts toward. Lower wages is the only message he has for you, for all the hundreds of golden pieces you pour into his capacious maw, year in and year out. A lower standard of living, a cheaper existence, is the only hope he can see for you, who produce all the wealth of the community and enjoy so little of it. A labour leader, and the only enemy he can find to lead you against is your fellow workers of the working-class.

The moral kink treads hard upon the intellectual twist. Folly and Falsehood were ever twin monsters of one brood.

I will not press you to give your definition of the word "power." The habit you have fallen into of using sounding phrases which may haply disguise insincerity of heart, and clearness of mind, precludes you from giving precision to terms which cry aloud for such treatment at your mouth—"blind mouth," Milton would have said. Your formal adherence to creeds and doctrines which you dare not examine, your futile juggling with the metaphysical niceties of an outworn creed, your £10,000 a year, are a bar, an ever increasing barrier, between yourself and intellectual candour.

What of your Ordination Oath, when one of your own clergy brazenly proclaims the prostitution of his office and of his intellect "in his own pulpit at St. Margaret's Church," by declaring he mouths "formularies to which, as an individual, he cannot *ex animo* subscribe"?

"Power"! Your statement with regard to the word in question simply means that "Any boy now being taught in their Poor Law Institutions might sit on the throne of the Archbishop of Canterbury if he could manage to do the trick." "Any boy can punch his neighbour in the eye if he can." "What will happen will happen." 0=0. Startling conclusion! Cerebration extraordinary—which brings me to the question of

tighten the belt and forego pipe and pewter in the endeavour to outstarve the "industrial competitors in other countries." All we can offer you are the irresistible weapons of the class struggle and a place in the forefront of the battle; continued and increasing poverty and suffering until the day of victory, but victory at last. They lie who promise you more; they betray who would have you burn your hearts out in the search for palliatives. There is no balm in capitalist Gilead, therefore the World for the Workers. Only possession of the whole means of production can give you any amelioration of your lot. Unemployment and starvation, ay, and even drunkenness too, and other degradation, are the necessary concomitants, or, it is better said, necessary results of your status as wage-slaves. That status must be altered; and it is because these men who claim to represent Labour in Parliament, with their fostering of race hatred, their advocacy of cheaper existence, their thousand and one acts and "words that weary and perplex and pander and conceal," are one of the chief bulwarks of capitalist domination that we denounce them for what they are—tools of the master class, betrayers of their own.

A. E. JACKOMBE

FRAUD OR FOOL?

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF LONDON.

MY LORD BISHOP.—The Press reports you as saying recently, at a meeting convened by the State Children's Association, that "Any boy now being taught in their Poor Law Institutions might sit on the throne of the Archbishop of Canterbury, if he had the brains and power."

The most charitable construction that can be put upon this startling announcement is that you lack information, and since you are in a position which could readily enable you to obtain such information, you are a fool. As you should have learnt from one of your own textbooks, "A fool despises instruction."

The inability to definitely posit you as fraud or fool by no means demonstrates that you are neither. In the hazy atmosphere compounded of episcopal mendacity and aristocratic thick-headedness which represents your mental equipment, your public utterances loom up tinged with varying proportions of the murky ingredients which gave them being.

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BRAINS.

I understand from your utterance that you hold intellect to be one of the main necessities for success in life. That is a fair inference from your statement. You give adhesion to the tar-diddle which declares to the French youth that every private carries in his knapsack the baton of a marshall; you hold that the humblest

clerk in the Admiralty, by strict attention to duty, may one day "become a ruler of the King's navy"—inferentially that your exalted position is owing partly to an extra dose of grey matter.

A bitter fool!

I wonder what the assembled company in Park Lane thought. Did none wince at that nonsensical nullity of yours concerning "power"? I know naught of Lady Buxton, eke of Lady Courtney, but Mrs. Barnett? The good lady who so severely takes the servant girl to task for her lack of coherent thinking, who has deplored the lack of "light" among the class which she vainly endeavours to sugar! And the "secondary and elementary school teachers" present! Peradventure, the secondaries and elementaries were at Park Lane on strict business bent. "Les affaires sont les affaires, n'est-ce pas." If the question is not personal, did the presence of those same purveyors of specially doctored capitalist lore afflict you with a sort of sympathetic itching? On the grounds of a common humanity, sharply and inevitably opposed as you and I must be, my Lord Bishop, on the political field, I sympathise with you for any discomfort you may have felt in the direction indicated. The creepiness of the "secondary" and "elementary" is of so loathsome a nature that a bishop should be spared that infliction.

Perhaps a quotation from Ruskin may help you to grasp my view-point on the question of Success and Brains. The Socialist Party of Great Britain does not swear by Ruskin. It occasionally, perchance, swears at him. But, at any rate, he did see certain isolated facts clearly, if he failed to correlate them, and made a kaleidoscopic colour smudge of what was intended to be an ordered harmony. "In a community regulated only by laws of supply and demand" successful persons are "industrious, resolute, proud, covetous, prompt, methodical, unimaginative, and ignorant." Not much room for brains here. *Per contra*, "the persons who remain poor are the entirely foolish, the entirely wise, the entirely merciful, just and godly person." Eh! Ruskin wasn't orthodox? You repudiate him as witness? My Lord of London, Right Reverend Father in God, bland participant in the profits distilled from the life's blood of the workingman, reeking with the shame of the unsexed working woman, bloody with the agony-drops of children, will ye accept the ruling of the phantom figure which you and yours have exploited in your own interest for so long, and whom you have solemnly declared to represent the highest attainable wisdom? You are never tired of telling us "His Life" was the highest teaching, irrespective of precept. So. And yet your Incarnation of Highest Truth, your Very-God-of-Very-God-Man made a sorry hash of his life, reproaching the Unbegotten-Very-God-of-Very-God in his dying agony. I beg pardon. You say, ha! He attained the highest success. M'yes, but that was not the kind of success you contemplated when beaming on the Park Lane assembly. The archbishop's throne, the bishop's chair, have not, of recent years, been associated with martyrdom. What you indicated was, that the poor little worker's kiddy stood an excellent chance of collaring the £15,000 a year attached to the "throne" of Augustine's successor.

A word in conclusion. Your cant and rant have no longer much weight with the class that has worked religion for all it is worth, in the only way that it could be worked, viz., for the befooling and undoing of the worker. But you need not therefore despair. If your class has its philosophic doubters, its ethical philanderers, its Cheynes and its Hensons, there are still the

POSS. LABOUR LEADERS; there are still the "Socialist" bleaters who find such solace in a quiet hour on their knees that they become permanently afflicted with housemaid's knee on the brain, meek firebrands, valiant worris, revolutionary P.S.A.'ers, to whom you may still address your pagan patter and mushy moralising. A tip, my Lord. Next time you address a gathering on a similar subject, why not invite a few of the meek-eyed crowd herein indicated? That you may bore each other to mutual damnation is the final wish of Yours,

SNOGGY

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

CARNEGISMS.

We have had to differ from the *Daily Express* on other occasions, so it will come as no surprise that its remarks on the articles by Messrs. Carnegie and Rockefeller in the Christmas number of *The World's Work* should also meet with our disapproval. Its introductory sentence is ominous. "The fallacy of the State ownership of capital, one of the leading Socialist doctrines, is vigorously exposed by the world's greatest millionaires." The "leading Socialist doctrine" is, to quote the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party, "the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people." That conversion involves, not the "State ownership of capital," but the abolition of capital. Capital being the means of production used as the agent of exploitation, its conversion into the common property of society will remove its exploiting character, and stop its functioning as the means of robbing the workers of their produce, so that it ceases to be capital at all, and becomes simply a sporting chance of being the correct one, we offered, through our Burnley members, to debate the matter with him. Although he had been deplored the absence of Mr. F. Maddison, with whom he professed a desire to have a bout, he declined our challenge. We repeat it now.

Mr. Quelch recently went to Burnley to lecture for the S.D.P. on "How to deal with Unemployment." He advocated the abolition of child labour, an eight-hour day, and production for use in co-operative colonies. If this is really Mr. Quelch's way of dealing with unemployment, it is certainly not our conception of the Socialist way, and as our conception has at least a sporting chance of being the correct one, we offered, through our Burnley members, to debate the matter with him. Although he had been deplored the absence of Mr. F. Maddison, with whom he professed a desire to have a bout, he declined our challenge. We repeat it now.

He stated in answer to a question, that now the workers are getting a better share relatively and actually than ever they were. If he is of the opinion that the worker's position is improving, and that the abolition of child labour, the establishment of an eight-hour day and co-operative colonies, are all that are required to deal with the unemployed problem, we most heartily invite him to discuss the matter with us, who do not believe either that the condition of the working class improves with the development of capitalism, or that any of his propositions will touch the social problem of unemployment with any degree of adequacy, but assert, on the contrary, that the position of the working class is more insecure, more precarious, than ever it was, that the only way to deal with the unemployed problem is to abolish the economic system to which it belongs (capitalism) by organising the workers into a political party for that purpose, such party being the Socialist Party of Great Britain. We shall be glad to hear from Mr. Quelch, or any of his satellites on this matter.

Mr. W. Thorne, M.P., apparently holds views similar to those of Mr. Quelch. At the Conference at the Guildhall held to discuss this matter he said, *vide Daily News report*, 7.12.08, "He was convinced that if a regular eight-hours day were adopted there would very soon be little or no unemployment." This indicates an utterly fallacious notion of the origin of unemployment. Unless and until wages represent the whole of the workers' produce (and they never will so long as they are wages) the difference between the quantity produced and the quantity the workers are able to buy back with their wages, plus the quantity actually consumed by the capitalists, will by its very accumulation inevitably bring about the periodical stoppage or partial stoppage of production, with its resulting starvation problem for the workers.

It is interesting, too, to learn that Mr. Carnegie's view of co-partnership is that "it tends to bring a realising sense of the truth to both labour and capital that their interests, broadly considered, are mutual." Also that "Mr. Rockefeller's views coincide with Mr. Carnegie's." This should be sufficient to damn Sir Christopher Furness' scheme.

"Up to the present time no scheme has yet presented itself which seems to afford a better method of handling capital than that of individual ownership." This is Mr. Rockefeller's. He seems to be gloriously oblivious of the economic evolution that has made the ownership of capital to be spread over the whole capitalist class by the formation and perfection of such factors as Joint Stock Cos., Syndicates, and Combines, which, while they help to draw the line between the capitalist class and the working class, are, nevertheless, a breaking down of individual ownership of capital and the building up of a collectivist form of capitalism, by consolidating the capitalists as a class, spreading the ownership over the whole class while centering the control in the hands of those mag-

D. K.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST

AR

SUNDAYS.	10th.	17th.	24th.	31st.
Battersea, Prince's Head Earlfield, Magdalen Road	11.30 T. A. Jackson	E. Fairbrother	H. Newman	T. A. Jackson
Clapham Common	11.30 P. Dumenil	T. A. Jackson	E. Fairbrother	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park	8.30 H. Newman	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson	J. E. Roe
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	8.30 T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. C. Watts
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 A. Anderson	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins
Peckham Rye	6.30 J. Crump	J. E. Roe	F. C. Watts	J. Smith
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. H. Halls	H. Newman	P. Dumenil	H. Martin
"	7.30 F. E. Dawkins	E. Fairbrother	T. W. Allen	T. W. Allen
Tottenham, West Green Crn.	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. Anderson	J. E. Roe	F. W. Stearn
"	7.30 A. W. Pearson	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 R. H. Kent	J. Crump	F. W. Stearn	E. Fairbrother
"	7.30 A. Anderson	J. Crump	F. W. Stearn	J. H. Halls

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.00. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

Anti-Socialists at Tottenham—continued.
 tried, but again they packed up their traps and stole silently away, leaving large and enthusiastic audiences listening to our speaker. Despite reports to the contrary in the *Daily Express*, there was no organised opposition, no fighting, there was no I.L.P., either, to applaud or assist them at those meetings—only laughter and jeers at the ignorance of the Anti-Socialists. With their armoury of absurdities they courted disaster and were defeated—and disgraced. Complaining that they had been denied a hearing, they were offered a platform with a guarantee of a peaceful hearing, but refused. They faked the debate they challenged us to. They referred us to their head office, who refuse to take up the challenge, and now, exultant the Anti-Socialist Union. It is to be placed on record that a "Tottenham Labour League" has been brought into existence by a few local politicians seeking notoriety, "to fight the Socialists of Great Britain," and taking up the cry of the unemployed in the interests of the master class, have successfully wrecked what little organisation the unemployed had. In this they were assisted by men who still claim membership in the I.L.P. and S.D.P. The President of this precious "Labour" League is Councillor A. E. Harvey, I.L.P. Its Vice-Presidents include several well-known local Liberals. Their actions are being watched by the local branch of the S.P.G.B., and should that league live much longer it may be the subject of a future note. A. A.

PADDINGTON BRANCH .
S. P. G. .

LECTURES AND DISCUSSIONS

IN

LABOUR COUNCIL ROOM,
2, Ferndale Road,

Harrow Road, W.,

ON SUNDAY EVENINGS AT 8 O'C.
Jan. 3rd.—"The Essentials of Unity."

REGINALD.

" 10th.—"The Materialist Conception
of History." H. J. NEUMANN" 17th.—"The Labour Party and
Socialism." R. H. KENT

" 24th.—To be announced. J. CRUMP

BATTERSEA BRANCH .
S.P.G.B.LABURNAM HOUSE.
134, HIGH STREET.Lectures—
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
IN THE HALL AT 8 P.M.Jan. 3rd—"Robbery and Tyranny."
T. A. JACKSON" 10th—"Why the Labour Party
will Not Do." R. H. KENTSpeakers and subjects for other Sundays
will be duly announced in the papers.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BA TERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 8, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B., Club, Laburnam House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

BURNLEY.—J. R. Tomlinson, Sec., 10, Morley St., Burnley Wood, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament Street.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 12, Burmester Rd., Tooting, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 8, at Bridgeman's Coffee Tavern, 1, Burton Rd., Garrett Lane, followed by discussion from 9 till 10. Public welcome.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Waller, Secretary, 45, Warble Way, Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 at Lockhart's, Walham Grn.

ISLINGTON.—All communications to Sec. Branch meets Wed. at 8, and Economic Class every Friday at 8 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance St., Hulme. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m., at Lockharts, Oxford Street (opposite Palace Theatre). Public admitted.

NOTTINGHAM.—F. Kneller, Sec., 27, Thurman St., Hyslop Green.

PADDINGTON.—T. A. Wilson, Sec., 90, Mortimer Road, Kensal Rise, N.W. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd., Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelina Rd., Nunhead, S.E. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Sundays at 8 p.m. at Club, Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—D. W. Fisher, Sec., 52, Petherton Rd., Canonbury, N. Branch meets Mondays, 8 p.m., 2, Dalston Lane (2nd floor).

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road, Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorringes Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at the Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. J. Merrison, Sec., 181, Moselle Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

From Handicraft
to Capitalism,

Translated from the German of

KARL KAUTSKY.

The only translation in the English language of this important section of the famous "Das Erfurter Program."

POST FREE 1½d.

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—:—:—

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

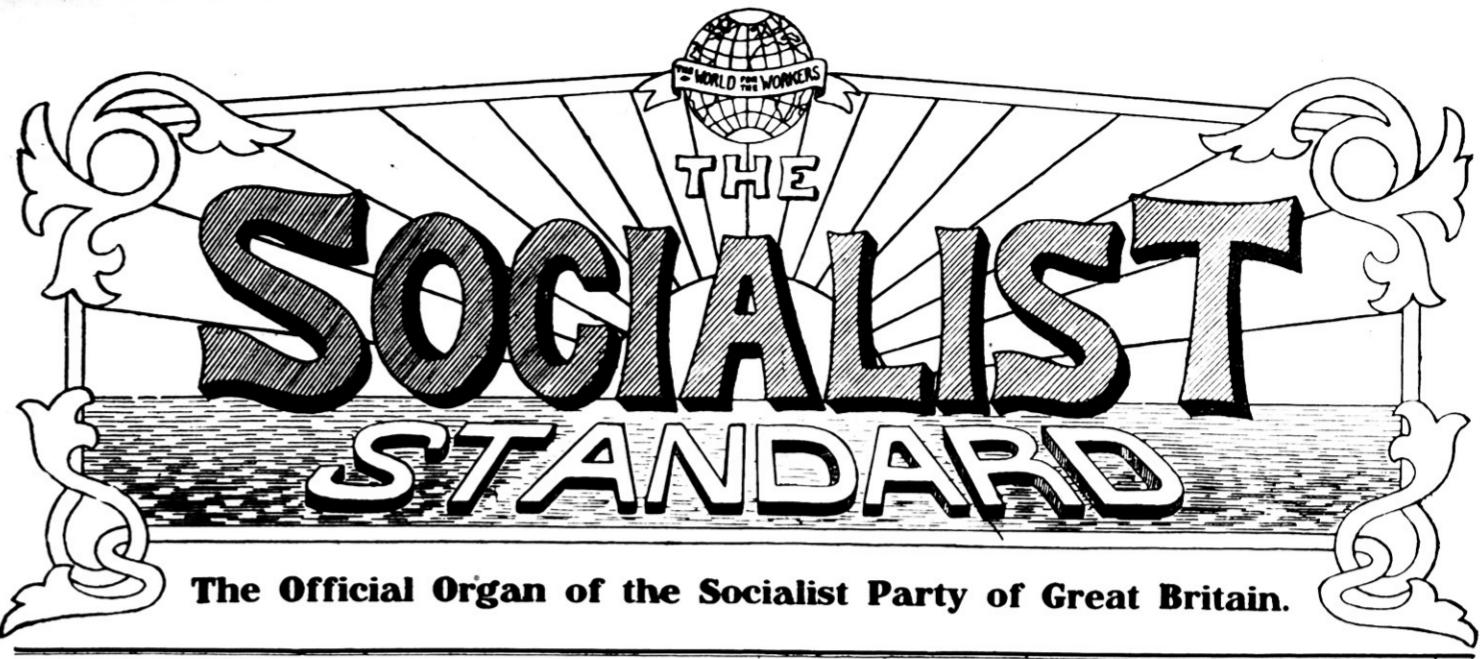
Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.

Printed by A. Jacob, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and published at 22, Great James Street, London.



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LONDON, FEBRUARY, 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SLAVERY AND HISTORY.

THE EVOLUTION OF SUBJUGATED LABOUR.

THE essential characteristics of slavery are, we find, human subjection to and labour for the profit of masters. When man's labour produces more than is indispensable for his maintenance, slavery is born. Prisoners of war, instead of being killed and eaten, or simply killed, are kept alive in order that they may work for their captors. Thus slavery is unknown to the more primitive folk of the savage, hunting stage. As defined, however, it is found wide-spread among peoples of a higher development, and passes historically through innumerable modifications. Nevertheless, three leading forms successively mark the course of later social evolution, namely, chattel-slavery, serfdom, and wage-labour; for the latter comes well within the definition.

We are well aware that the popular notions on slavery, and, indeed, those fostered by capitalist journalism, are mostly confined to an acquaintance with "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Herbert Spencer's view of the matter may, therefore, well be quoted as showing the far wider scope of the institutions. He says, (Vol. 3, p. 456, Prim. Soc.), "The current assumption is that of necessity a slave is a down-trodden being, subject to unlimited labour and great hardship; whereas in many cases he is well cared for, not overworked, and leniently treated. Assuming slaves everywhere to have ideas of liberty like our own, we suppose them to be intolerant of despotic control; whereas their subjection is sometimes so little onerous that they jeer at those of their race who have no masters. Assuming that their feelings are such as we should have under the same circumstances, we regard them as unhappy; whereas they are often more light-hearted than their superiors. Again, when we contrast the slave with the free man, we think of the last as his own master; whereas very generally, surrounding conditions exercise over him a mastery more severe and un pitying than that exercised over the slave by his owner: nature's coercion is often worse than man's coercion." Spencer had to make out that the subjection of the wage-workers to the capitalist class is simply "nature's coercion," but otherwise his view is quite acceptable.

In offering our fellow workers some information on the condition of their historical forebears, we shall, true to the materialist conception of scientific Socialism, see in the evolution of slavery, not the idealist's progress of ideas out of ideas, independently of material conditions, from earlier cruelty to later gentleness, but simply a reflex of the movement and progress of productive methods. A remodelling of institutions not according to heaven-sent aspirations, high ideals and "moral" religions of Greek, Mahometan and Christian, but as the

further expansion of economic forces required. The earlier written histories describe the Mediterranean and North European peoples as being, many of them, advanced to the threshold of civilisation, and still organised by kinship in contradistinction to organisation according to the territory inhabited; some living largely by agriculture, and others, like the Semitic tribes of Western Asia and Northern Africa, a pastoral, nomadic life. Private property was accumulating amongst them, even to the land itself in some cases, while domestic animals, cattle, goats, and so forth, were such everywhere. It is above all upon this new factor that depends the subsequent history of civilised peoples, including the evolution of slavery. Military raids were frequent, and provided conquerors with plunder, more fertile lands, and, above all, with prisoners, who were made to tend the cattle, or to do the more laborious work of the fields. At a later stage the ranks of slavery were swelled by poor citizens or tribesmen selling their children, and even themselves, into bondage in payment of debt. The book of Leviticus hands down to us the rules for the treatment of both the "stranger" and Hebrew bondsmen.

GREECE.

Some of the Grecian tribes when they conquered neighbouring people simply bound these to the soil and compelled them to bring to their conquerors a certain fixed part of their produce, leaving their family institutions untouched, and even allowing them to accumulate property. Thus, amongst others, the Spartans held their helots; and indeed, much of the military organisation of the former was required to keep the helots in subjection, for they long retained the memory of their free condition.

In Attica and Corinth, the distinctly commercial states, however, great numbers of chattel-slaves, largely barbarians, were held and exchanged. "At the time of the greatest prosperity the whole number of free Athenian citizens, women and children included, amounted to about 90,000; the slaves of both sexes numbered 365,000 and the aliens—foreigners and freed slaves—45,000." ("Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State," by F. Engels.) Slaves furnished all kinds of useful labour. Many were in domestic service, others were cooks, bakers, tailors, miners, labourers on agricultural estates, seamen, oarsmen, etc., while the State had slaves for soldiers, and even policemen. "The free Athenian regarded this police duty as so degrading that he preferred being arrested by an armed slave rather than lending himself to such an ignominious service." (Engels.) In Greece, although their condition underwent important changes, the slaves were mildly treated, and enjoyed considerable legal protection. Slaves

came increasingly to acquire property rights, and then, as Spencer has it, "the slave's condition was much that of a free-man paying heavy taxes." As to the outcome, Engels says that "The great number of slaves is explained by the fact that many of them worked together in large factories under supervision. The development of commerce and industry brought about an accumulation and concentration of wealth in a few hands. The mass of the free citizens were impoverished and had to face the choice of either competing with their own labour against slave labour, which was considered ignoble and vile, besides promising little success, or to be ruined. Under the prevailing circumstances they necessarily chose the latter course, and being in the majority, they ruined the whole Attic State. Not democracy caused the downfall of Athens, but the European glorifiers of princes and licksiptie schoolmasters would have us believe, but slavery ostracizing the labour of the free citizen."

ROME.

In the earlier period of Roman history the head of the family (paterfamilias) had full power of life and death over all the members of his household—wife, child, and chattel-slave—and all were treated in general with great rigour. Slaves when old or otherwise useless were often "exposed" to starve upon an island in the Tiber. Many servile revolts are recorded—some of them of formidable proportions. That under the gladiator Spartacus in 73 B.C. lasted over the course of three years, and was only suppressed by a mighty effort by the Roman State—and this in spite of the fatal lack of cohesion and discipline among the men, who in seeking their freedom could not escape the temptation to linger in Italy for the plunder of the cities.

Later, under the Emperors, multitudes of slaves were employed in the various mechanical arts, while the cruelty of the masters was restrained by law, and property might be acquired. Further, the continual warfare with its consequent strain of military service upon the citizens resulted in the impoverishment of the poorer of these, and their lands passing into the hands of a few great landholders. Agriculture became entirely a slave occupation, carried on upon great estates called *latifundia*; a system that led to the depopulation of Italy and the extinction of any class capable of resisting the Imperial tyrants or the barbarian invaders who followed.

The attitude of Christianity towards slavery was, and is, well exhibited in the notion of St. John Chrysostom, that the apostle did not insist on the suppression of slavery because it was desirable that men should see how truly the slave could enjoy liberty of soul—the slavery of sin being the only real slavery. Indeed, Christianity is quite innocent of the milder treatment

of slaves during the later Roman period, or of the decline of chattel-slavery, for, as Spencer puts it, by the partial failure of the supply of slaves through conquest, "the Romans were obliged to have recourse to the milder but more tedious method of propagation; and this improved the condition of the slave by rendering his existence and physical health an object of greater value to his master." Negro slavery in America is fairly well known, and considerations of space prevent us from giving it special treatment here. However, it is well to mention that it arose in consequence of the great demand for agricultural labour there, of a kind suited to hot and damp climates. It received its great impetus from the invention of the cotton gin at the end of the eighteenth century, when cotton became definitely available for clothing in competition with wool and flax. The "peculiar" Southern institution was abolished only when it threatened to prevent the full expansion of normal capitalism based upon wage-labour; and the clash of material interests there involved an expenditure of blood and treasure rarely matched in history.

COLLAPSE OF CHATTEL-SLAVERY.

Now while the Teutonic eruption all over the European portions of the Roman Empire brought with it its own, as yet but little developed, servile institutions, yet it is true that this famous period roughly marks the transition (amongst Western peoples) from personal to territorial slavery—from chattel-slavery to serfdom. The steady degradation of the free population and consequent contraction of markets, resulted in the decay of the large-scale slave-worked agricultural estates; and since the great numbers of slaves now became a burden upon their owners, these were now largely freed, and small-scale agriculture by "colonists" replaced the older system. These small cultivators paid a fixed sum, or a proportion of the product to landowners, and in other respects were indeed the prototypes of the medieval serfs. With regard to the Germanic overrunning of Gaul, Seebohm is quoted by Spencer as inferring that the medieval serf was the "compound product of survivals from three separate ancient conditions, gradually, during Roman provincial rule, and under the influence of barbarian conquest, confused and blended into one, viz., those of the slave on the Roman Villa, of the *colonus* or other semi-serf and mostly barbarian tenants on the Roman Villa or public lands, and of the slave of the German tribesman, who to the eyes of Tacitus was so very much like a Roman *colonus*."

FEUDAL EUROPE.

The wide-spread prevalence of the type of subject labour known as serfdom characterises above all the Middle Ages with its baronial sway and feudal organisation of society. The barbarian conquest of the ancient world, in spite of an intellectual setback, did, after all, but continue social evolution—reinvigorated, however, by the new blood from the northern forests. During and after the migrations the conquerors settled amongst the older cultivators, taking the major portion of the land and working this themselves, aided by the bondsmen they held. The long period of war and conquest had, however, left its mark upon their social organisation. The chieftains' families had acquired the privileges of hereditary and military aristocracy and remained at the head of a new social class (itself a result of the new division of labour: cultivators—warriors), the professional soldiers. Continual warfare between the various military chieftains (e.g., the Heptarchy in England) induced most of the agriculturists, organised as these were in village communities, to place themselves under the care of a lordly "protector," in return for which protection they surrendered the titles to their lands. Monasteries and churches in this way became, during the ninth and tenth centuries, amongst the largest landowners, and their bishops and abbots powerful nobles. The protecting lord, baron, seigneur and his retainers had to be fed, clothed and sheltered in their massive castles and were able to exact this by commanding the services of the protected vassals for definite periods—corvée. This servile condition existed, however, in different forms: the services to be rendered and the civil rights vary with time and place. The monarch sometimes, especially in later times, sustained by the burgher class seeking its

particular interests, ruled in favour of the lighter forms of serfdom.

DECLINE OF SERFDOM.

In England typical serfdom gradually disappeared toward the close of the Middle Ages, and in most other European countries considerably later. It was abolished in Russia by Imperial edict as late as 1861. Serfdom had its frictions, as witness some robust rebellions—e.g., the *vileins*' revolt under Jack Cade and Wat Tyler, likewise the *Jacquerie* in France and the Peasant War in Germany.

But the determining influence in its decline, in the last analysis (as in the case of all other social phenomena with the exception of the earliest experiences of the race, when society was more under the influence of sexual relations) was essentially economic, although a superficial reading of history may provide an idealist and purely political explanation. The progressive division of labour and its application in newer and more efficient methods, together with the resulting growth of cities, has everything to do with the rendering of serfdom obsolete and incompatible with progress. In England the change from the old, large, open field, to scattered, small-plot system of agriculture, to the enclosed field system, together with the displacing of husbandry in favour of pastures, for sheep raising, in response to the demand for wool, had much to do with decreasing the need for numerous workers fixed to the land. "Owing to the spread of new agricultural methods, their services ceased to be valuable," says Spencer, quoting Cunningham.

The development of the bourgeoisie in the cities and their need of defenders resulted in many serfs finding refuge and livelihood with them. In Italy the serfs were largely foed in this way, while the wide-spread demand for money on the part of the nobles during the Crusades, and in emulation of the now prosperous city merchants, led the manorial lords to look rather to rent payments than to services; and finally it was being discovered that "free-labour" was more efficient and profitable than "servile-labour." Spencer has it that "German serfs in Russia, as quoted by Prof. Jones, say that a Middlesex mower will now as much in a day as three Russian serfs. The Prussian Councillor of State, Jacobi, is considered to have proved that in Russia where everything is cheap, the labour of a serf was double as expensive as that of a labourer in England. In Austria the work of a serf is stated to have been equal to one-third that of a hired man."

It is of some interest to note that vestiges of serfdom survived in England until quite recent times. Thus colliers and salters were bound for life to the mines in which they worked, and their sons with them, until the end of the eighteenth century, while well into the nineteenth century a "free" labourer could not choose, so were conditions arranged, to leave his employer without incurring risk of punishment. Finally, as regards the real relations of servile and free labour, and the determining causes thereof, the views of these two, certainly not Socialist, and eminently respectable, thinkers, may not be out of place. Thus, John Adams in the American Congress of 1776, "That as to this matter, it was of no consequence by what name you called your people, whether by that of freemen or slaves. That in some countries the labouring poor men are called freemen; in others they were called slaves; but the difference was imaginary only. What matters it whether a landlord employing ten labourers on his farm gives them annually as much as will buy the necessities of life, or gives them those necessities at short hand?" (From "Lost Principles of Sectional Equilibrium," by "Barbarossa," 1860.) Herbert Spencer concludes in this way, "When slave labour and free labour come into competition, slave labour, other things equal, decreases as being less economical. The relative lack of energy, the entire lack of interest, the unintelligent performance of work, and the greater cost of supervision, make the slave an unprofitable productive agent. Hence with an adequate multiplication of labourers it tends gradually to disappear."

Reviewing, then, slavery in the only fruitful manner, that is, historically; considering its origin, manifestations and developments, we find that so-called free-labour—wage-labour—

falls into its proper place as a later development of servile production. Free-labour is seen then to have its roots in chattel-slavery and serfdom, and its future—but to that shortly. For while labour has been gradually freed from the shackles of chattel and villein conditions, it yet undeniably partakes of the essential characteristics of slavery, viz., human subjection to and labour for the profit of masters. Its distinction from the older forms is sufficiently indicated in the well established Socialist term—WAGE-SLAVERY.

However, the existing order, capitalism, based upon wage-labour, contains and develops within itself its own negation, as did the earlier social systems. The ancient order, based upon chattel-slavery, could not survive the degradation consequent upon the fullest development of that basis, and gave way to the agricultural and military barbarism, which soon developed the feudal system, leaning mainly upon serf-labour. This in turn prepared within itself its own destroyers—the merchant and artisan class of the towns, the bourgeoisie, who, overthrowing the nobles, and also the King where he could not be made to serve their turn, have become the dominant class, and have moulded society much in their own sanctimonious image. The historically indicated negation of capitalism is Socialism: and the revolutionary instrument of its achievement is the modern class of wage-workers who, stripped of property, are compelled to seek a livelihood by selling to the bourgeoisie their labour-power, but who, in so doing, at the same time acquire an understanding of the conditions of their own development, become class-conscious, and organise for their emancipation. Thereby "emancipating society at large from all its exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles."

History dictates the final overthrow of slave-founded society, and the establishment of fraternal society—SOCIALISM.

J. H. H.

NOTES AND CLIPPINGS.

HUSTLE!

* * *

Word of dire import to the wage-slave. Yet not without its use, persistently, pitilessly reminding him that increased toll on brain and sinew must be demanded from him to meet the conditions that the ever-increasing mad whirl of competition creates.

* * *

The *Daily Chronicle*, year of grace 1908: "Wanted, in progress department with some experience of motor-car components, to HUSTLE THE WORK THROUGH THE SHOPS."

* * *

"Some experience" only of the inanimate machine, of tank and sparking plug, of valve and tire, but a firm grip of the possibilities of the human mechanism; its thew and sinew, its mental capacity, its fears and its hopes, its breaking-point, expressed in terms of surplus-value units.

* * *

A correspondent of *Justice* (12.12.08) cries aloud for "more capital," in order that the work of the Twentieth Century Press (T.C.P.) may grow and still further flourish.

* * *

Whew! This is in the "Organ of Social Democracy." Oh Harry Quelch! Oh Father of British "Socialism," behold your pupil!

* * *

"Capital means wealth which is employed by its owners for the purpose of profit by the labour of others," (*Catechism of Socialism*, issued by T.C.P., authors, Bax and Quelch).

* * *

"Profits . . . are derived from the surplus-value wrung from the unpaid labour of the workers" (same work, same authors, same bed-rock truth).

* * *

Anent this precious piece of correspondence, a Peckham comrade writes "A certain W. A.

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"Profits . . . are derived from the surplus-value wrung from the unpaid labour of the workers" (same work, same authors, same bed-rock truth).

* * *

Anent this precious piece of correspondence, a Peckham comrade writes "A certain W. A.

February 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Woodroffe, in response to an appeal to Social Democratic Party members to take up shares in the T.C.P., sends for two more shares on behalf of the Camberwell Branch, of which he is a member.

* * *

Is this the W. A. Woodroffe who is employed by the T.C.P., and who played such an ignoble part with the Executive Council of that body when the straight members came out?

* * *

"If so, the fear he has of many members of the S.D.P. being wholly ignorant of the 'important' part played by the T.C.P. in the movement can be dispelled by a true account of the events which led to the formation of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

* * *

"The question would then resolve itself into an enquiry as to whether the enlightened and disillusioned rank and file of the S.D.P. would find their view coincide with those of W. A. Woodroffe as to what could, or should be done with 'more capital.'

* * *

The inner history of that historic movement shall be told to readers of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD at an early date. We guarantee that nothing which has hitherto appeared in our organ will be more replete with interest, more illustrative of the dirty method of an organisation dominated by "middle-class quacks," and bound hand and foot to a concern which demands "more capital," than such a recount.

* * *

Meanwhile, I would ask my enquiring comrade whether this same worthy was the individual who spoke at some length at the Old Kent Rd. Baths when Hyndman, "the great Socialist Orator,"—so the handbills read—denied, in answer to a question, that he or the S.D.P. had ever supported Burns after his secession from the ranks of the S.D.P.?

* * *

Further, whether it was the same W. A. Woodroffe who declared his gratitude to the "Great Socialist Orator" for his great and surpassing condescension in emptying himself of his glory and stepping out from the ranks of the upper class to patronise and beam on the working classes?

* * *

Pah! Its offence is rank. It smells to Heaven. A draught of Marx (translated by Harry Quelch)

* * *

"The patty bourgeois, always speaks of one side, and the other side. Two opposing, contradictory currents dominate his material interests, and in consequence his religious, scientific, and artistic views, his morality, in fact, his whole being."

* * *

"If he is besides, a man of intellect, he will very soon be able to juggle with his own contradictions, and to elaborate them in striking, noisy, if sometimes brilliant paradoxes. Scientific charlatanism and political compromises are inseparable from such a point of view."

* * *

"There is in such case, only a single motive, individual vanity, and, as with all vain people, there is no question of anything beyond the mere effect of the moment, the success of the hour."

* * *

Could Genius go further in limning the psychological outlines of the Hyndmans and Blatchfords? Through the mental features of the latter, especially, leers out the baneful figure of the Anarchist Proudhon, of whom the above (in "Misère de la Philosophie") was written.

* * *

And—*Que le diable faites-vous dans cette galère, Harry?*

* * *

Is it a place within the meaning of the—no, not the Act, pardon—of Socialism?

A. REGINALD.

Men are disturbed, not by things, but by the principles and ideas which men form about them.—"The Enchiridion."

Men rattle their chains to manifest their freedom.—Sir ARTHUR HELPS, "Essays and Aphorisms."

TOTTENHAM BRANCH REPORT.

RAYS.

In "Justice" (2.1.09), Mr. H. M. Hyndman enters his protest against "modesty," and boastingly gives a list of his aristocratic relations and friends who have had more or less close relations with Indian affairs. The list includes titled hired assassins of every degree, military swashbucklers, capitalist political and literary hacks, Lords and Ladies of English high society, and a few Indian natives who had found favour in the eyes of their country's enemies—truly a noble and notable gang of associates to boast of while posing as a Socialist.

The writer then proceeds to tell us how clever HE was, how HE had provided a Conservative Government with an Indian policy, which they put into practice, and how he had been assured that he had rendered a great service to the State, and had been offered "all that any man could get in this country."

Doubtless all this is true. In fact, judging by the present painful position in which the Indian people find themselves, we are inclined to believe that some scheme of his has been in operation, and after reading his shameful confessions, we shall view with more suspicion than ever any future proposals emanating either from H. M. Hyndman or that coterie of his disciples who still call themselves "The Social Democratic Party."

However, not to be eclipsed, but to dim the self-constructed halo round Hyndman's head, up springs the gentle George Bernard Shaw, to trumpet forth in the columns of the "Observer" (10.1.09) his services, and those of the Fabian Society, to the capitalist class. According to G.B.S. it was the Fabian Society (in other words himself) who supplied the Liberal Party with the Newcastle Programme, which served so well to delude the working class for twenty years; and when it dawned on those far-seeing and obliging Fabians, that to have a programme without meaning to carry it out meant disaster to their

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 22, Great James Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

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The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY, FEB. 1, 1909.

Our New Leaflet.

In issuing "The Socialist View" of the unemployment question in leaflet form for free distribution, we have commenced the year well. The leaflet is at once a clear, comprehensive, simple and straight-forward statement of the case, and it is up to the Party members and sympathisers to see that it is placed in the hands of as many members of the working class, employed and unemployed alike, as is possible. This is particularly desirable at the present time because not only is the question of unemployment very acute, but the confusion that has overtaken the pseudo-Socialist and Labour parties on this matter seems to have reached something of a climax. Take, for instance, the grand national campaign that was to have been organised by the Social Democratic Party. This, has fizzled out, as Socialists knew it must, and now that "collections" are not forthcoming, and the "leaders" are not prepared to take their own advice and "rush the baker's shops," the London unemployed decline to be used as "unpaid sandwich men," to walk the streets accompanied by more policemen than "comrades," to advertise the S.D.P. Those leaders sought to excuse their use of the unemployed on the plea that they were teaching them the principles of Socialism, illustrating those principles by the unemployment of their students. The force of this is seen when the "leader" is hustled out of Berkeley Square by the police. The men, being without a leader, disperse. Their class-consciousness could not be very profound, nor their Socialist education complete.

And what of the "Labour" Party—the great Independent-Free Trade-Radical-Gospel-Temperance-Secular-Nonconformist-Labour Party? In the House of Commons its members were busy prating about opening ports and closing "pubs"; outside, they are now, on the platform and in the capitalist Press, slanging each other as traitors and enemies. Yet despite the ever intensifying poverty and misery due to increasing unemployment, they are all of them content to moon about in what Liebknecht well termed "the dream of the right to work," content to dream—for £200 a year.

Take the Socialist Labour Party—this party through a somewhat chequered career has, as it were, boxed the compass, yet has failed entirely to grasp the Socialist position. From advocating palliatives it has swung to the other extreme, and absurdly talked of "taking and holding," and now we find it appealing, cap in hand, to the representatives of the capitalist class, asking what they are going to do for the unemployed, while, as if to further illustrate the confusion existing in that party—its national secretary has been expelled for assisting a "right to work" committee.

The only remedy (1) the Tory Party can suggest is the same Protection that is proved

powerless to touch the unemployed problem in Germany, France, or America; while the panacea of the Liberal Government is to be found in the new army scheme, coupled with the (conveniently made from the necessity of) putting in hand that work purposely held over from the Summer.

Amid and against all this confusion the S.P.G.B. pursues its course as steadily and uncompromisingly as ever. The first and only Socialist party established in these isles, it has consistently held aloft the banner of Socialism. Increasing numbers and increasing strength have spurred it on to greater efforts, while neither the wiles of the capitalist-class politician nor the sentimental ambiguities of the "labour-leader," the shrieks of the ultra moral and religious anti-Socialist, nor even the increase in working-class unemployment has succeeded in effecting in it the slightest deviation from the Socialist principles or change in its policy. Coming from such a party, the leaflet mentioned above will throw a welcome light on the outer world of political and economic darkness, and shed a peculiar light on the burning question of unemployment from an unmistakably Socialist, and therefore undeniably working-class, view-point.

The Labour Party and the Law.

The recent ruling of the Appeal Court that Trade Unions have no legal power to force their members into supporting any political party, even when a majority of that Trade Union agreed to supporting that political party, came as a veritable bolt from the blue. The Labour Party, "the new force in politics," the political organisation which in 1906 claimed that it had frightened the House of Lords into passing the Trades Disputes Bill, awakens in 1909 to discover that it has no legal standing at all, and is only suffered to exist by the voluntary support of its members. Now while we agree that political work must be done voluntarily, as is the whole of the work of the S.P.G.B., because only then is it the expression of the real convictions of the person expressing it, it is doubtful indeed whether the Labour Party can depend upon sufficient voluntary pence to pay its members' salaries and its working expenses. Hence the decision of the Labour Party to appeal against the Appeal Court's finding, and to attempt to cling to the privilege of levying Trade Union members for the support of a political party over which they have little or no control.

The rabid anti-Socialist Press, like the *Daily Express*, accused the Socialists of capturing the Trade Unions by controlling the Labour Party; but the Labour Party is not a Socialist party any more than it is a Tory party, its political representatives being mainly concerned with maintaining the *status quo*, keeping their seats—and their jobs. So the job-hunters who run the show have to pose as advanced reformers to the rank and file of the I.L.P., who do the work, and as tolerant, "practical," men to the Trade Unions, who find the money. The net result to the working class is, in addition to the loss of their money, the disappointment of seeing nothing as the result of their expenditure of money, energy, and enthusiasm in "independent" politics. Yet these people have the ear of the public, and the Socialist has but little chance of a hearing. To believe that so great a sham can last for long is to be with as little faith in the workers as those middle-class "leaders" who have so graciously come among us to lead us, and who contemn us meanwhile.

The Socialist Party is clear that in the first place the trade organisation is not the starting point of the political organisation if for no other reason than the fact that the unit of the union is the trade, while the unit of the political organisation is the locality; and in the second place that the workers' effort towards their emancipation must be made voluntarily as the result of conviction of "class-consciousness"; certainly not as the result of watering down the position to appeal to a majority, and then using that majority to enforce the financial support of the minority of a type of organisation which has been enabled to build up its membership partly owing to the fact that party feeling in political matters has been rigidly excluded.

SARK!

SINCE our last issue an event, so fraught with human importance that it is bound to become historic, has taken place. Not with a flourish of trumpets, not with a dazzling display on those beatuous wayside erections which (it is alleged) many members of the working class, with truly revolutionary disregard for the rights others, claim as "the working man's picture gallery," but quietly, quietly as nature working up to some catastrophic horror, this event has been developed. In its making it has been evolutionary, doubtless enough, but in its birth, its being launched upon the sea of human environment, it is cataclysmal.

Kata, Greek prefix signifying down, back, thorough; Greek, *kluzo*, to wash. What should we working men who write for working men do without our Latin and our Greek? Cataclysmal is the very adjective. This event which I speak of has burst upon us as a deluge, a flood; it has given us a thorough sluicing; it has been *kluzo*, to wash (and plenty of it), and *kato*, down (and up), back (and front) and tree-mendously thorough. It has been a political washout, and the ground whereon we stood is holey ground, with a vengeance. Gone is that pyramid of economic sophistry and hare-brained political quackery on which we had elevated ourselves to conspicuity; gone also that underlying working-class ignorance and hankering after the moon without which as a foundation our pyramid had never been erected at all, and we and those who gave us faith (it is quite inconceivable that any thought for themselves) stand in gullies and hollows, but with our political feet upon the firm rock of truth of the tertiary formation—as we know by its fossils.

And this event is the publication of the first number of the *Anti-Socialist*. An auspicious birth, fellow members of the working class, since it spells doom to the Socialist movement. Alas! shall we be able to fulfil our obligations to those who have subscribed to the end of the volume? Shall see even another issue of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD? If there were shareholders—but this is not the *Labour Leader*.

The *Anti-Socialist* has the blessing of the Church in the person of our brother in Christ, the Canon of Westminster. Other notable sympathisers with what the *Anti-Socialist* lightly refers to as the aspirations of labour, who recommend the new publication to working men are Sir A. Acland Hoop, Lord George Hamilton, Admiral Fremantle, C. Arthur Pearson, Andrew Carnegie, and the editor of the *Daily Express*. This galaxy of noble and disinterested champions of labour surely have a right to be heard with respect on the matter of what is the true interest of the workers. Andrew, at all events, we know to have very decided views upon the subject, as witness a little shooting affair at Pittsburg some score or so years ago, which is still held in sacred memory.

We are treated to a cartoon in this first number; it is entitled: "The Workman's Dream. A workman is depicted, seated, and under the influence of the pantomimic gestures of an individual we are invited to imagine is a Socialist, while another individual labelled 'Socialist' has extracted a resplendent watch and chain and quite a fabulous store of coin of the realm, from the subject's pocket, while from the anticipatory smile on the face of the brigand (who, by the way, I am sure is meant for Mr. G. B. Shaw) there is plenty more to come. Inscribed thereunder we read: 'The Socialists hypnotise the working man, and pick his pocket.' And what is the dream with which the Socialists have beguiled the working man while they are a doing of it? The artist has given it expression. The worker dreams that he has an easy chair to sit in, a fender to put his feet on, and a table—with some grub on it. That is all, if we except a gem like a decanter stopper which decorates his finger. O chimeric vision of paradise! O ironic mockery! O wickedly delusive irradiance! A divan chair, a fender, and a table with some grub on it. Well might the workman suspect the intentions of those who lure him with such impossible extravagance. I notice that the worker still wears his hob-nails and corduroys. It would fairly have given the Socialists' game away to have suggested escape from these. Born in 'em, live in 'em, marry in 'em, die in 'em. A.E.J.

WHY DOES RUSSELL SMART?

It is unfortunate that we have to begin the New Year like this, but there is no help for it. We have been asked, for the nineteen-hundred-and-ninth time, why is there so much discord in the "movement." Why don't we leave off slanging the S.D.P. and I.L.P., let them pursue the uneven tenor of their way, and devote the whole of our energies to propagating what we consider to be the truth? Why split the forces that have all the same aim and differ only as to method? Let us each traverse the path which is most congenial: we are bound to meet some day, and so on. Points, dear reader, which you will observe, all beg hosts of questions. For instance, supposing that our ultimate aims were identical, there is surely no reason why if proof could be adduced, we should not point out that the other parties were "coffin-ships." And, of course, there is the question as to what comprises the "movement." If you say "the Socialist movement" our answer is easy. There is but one Socialist movement, and its headquarters are situated at 22, Great James Street. There is certainly no discord in the *Socialist* movement. On the contrary, a more solid unity upon the questions that matter it would be difficult to find.

But should you specify the "Labour" movement, or the "Social Reform" movement as movements making for progress and ultimately for Socialism, we beg most emphatically to disclaim any intention of splitting the already riven. The very word "Labour" has become synonymous with political ineptitude and windbagging, whilst "Social Reform" includes within its spiny boundaries, anything and everybody, from the Smoke Abatement Society to the Independent Labour Party to the Anti-Gambling League; from the Clarion Flowerpot Guild to the Moore and Burgess Minstrels, very nearly. But, seriously, the "party of progress" includes some queer fish, or rare birds, whichever you prefer.

In the S.P.G.B. we make but one stipulation, and that is that its members must be Socialists. The ranks of Social Reform include anybody with a pet fad who will adopt the formula: "I too am a Socialist, in some respects, alhen! but I think we want the Single Tax, or a paper currency, or State Ownership of Ice Cream Carts, you know, first." And so we find Joseph Fels, the single taxer, R. J. Campbell, the new theologian, Arthur Kitson, the currency crank, H. G. Wells, the sensational novelist, and hosts of others, representing all shades of faddism, up and down the whole gamut of puerile futility, all in the same camp and under the same many-coloured banner of "Social Reform."

Usually the faddist is a man of means, often an employer of labour, and, curiously enough, he almost invariably joins the I.L.P. Of course, accidents will happen, and the S.D.P. has been known to bag a real live countess, with a motor-car and diamonds and things of that sort, but the I.L.P. appears to be a happy-hunting-ground for the man with the hobby.

The result, very naturally, is chaos. No two elections are fought alike. The old Liberal and Tory dodge of playing down to your electorate in order to "get your man in" is well established feature of Labour politics. Temperance legislation is promised to the teetotal fanatic; Home Rule has the candidate's whole-hearted sympathy when the son of Erin asks questions; he is quite willing to prove that Free Trade is much superior to Protection, when the Liberals offer their support, and so on.

We should not mind a great deal if the people named would call themselves the "Peaceful Persuaders," or "The Gently Does It Party," or something of that sort, but they persistently label themselves "Socialists"; preachers of undiluted, straight-forward Socialism, etc., and that is where we object. We are not the only ones who are of that opinion. Their own members are telling them so. This is what Leonard Hall says in the *Clarion* of December 4th. After showing that the I.L.P. is in danger of being "(1) side-tracked by tired, timid, or trimming tactics; (2) disrupted by impulsive inexperience

or too intolerant enthusiasm; or (3) stultified and spraggaged by immoderate hero-worship, caucusing, dictation, or paralysing over-centralisation," he proceeds to point out that "the first and second of these perils would and could have no existence if the national administration of the Party were in fact democratic—that is to say, if the members of the Party were in a position to give full effect at any and all times to their wishes and will as to administration and policy. The present machinery of the Party's national administration and the temper and strategy of the few worthy gentlemen who in fact hold control of that machinery are just as undemocratic as if they had been carefully designed for the sole purpose of undemocracy. For these gentlemen also control the official Party newspapers."

Mr. Hall very aptly concludes his article by saying "Will it also not be useful to remind ourselves that the original objective of the I.L.P. was Socialism?"

We of the S.P.G.B. have never said anything worse of the I.L.P. than that. That, in fact, is our case. We may differ as to whether the objective of the I.L.P. ever was Socialism, but it certainly is not now.

Mr. Hall is not alone in the position he takes up. Russell Smart, in a letter to the *New Age*, October 29th, is "sick, sorry, and tired of the confusion and disorganisation into which the party (the I.L.P.) has drifted, and the incapacity with which its affairs are administered." The letter is too long to quote in full, but the following is about a third of it, and comprises a complete summary of the way things are managed in the Independent (?) Labour Party.

"But this melancholy business is chiefly our own fault. Who is to bring the wrong-doers to book? By which court are they to be tried? The N.A.C. should be the body, but the N.A.C. to all intents and purposes is Hardie, Macdonald and Snowden—scarcely an impartial tribunal. These men have gained possession of the whole movement. They are the N.A.C. They succeed each other as chairman. They are our M.P.s; our chief delegates to the Labour Party Conferences, they agree among themselves as to the policy to be pursued and then give forth that policy to the party from which they exact a sheep-like adherence. The party is never consulted before action is taken, it is only asked to endorse policies already decided on. The unemployed Workman's Bill was drafted and laid before Parliament without submission to the Party. Undoubtedly it is a good Bill, and meets with the approval of every member as a whole, though there are clauses in it to which considerable opposition might be urged. The Licensing Bill has received the unanimous support of our I.L.P. members of Parliament. They have appeared on public platforms along with Liberal members at thinly disguised Liberal meetings, and there is no one to call them to account.

"Cockermouth was fought, Newcastle left un-fought, entirely on their own responsibility; all sorts of wire-pulling and intrigue go on in constituencies who contemplate running candidates. The party organ has also come under their control; it is not the paper of the I.L.P., but the register of the official view; and their henchmen, the editor, is allowed to let loose those vituperative insults which are his chief qualification to the party from which they exact a sheep-like adherence. The party is never consulted before action is taken, it is only asked to endorse policies already decided on. The unemployed Workman's Bill was drafted and laid before Parliament without submission to the Party. Undoubtedly it is a good Bill, and meets with the approval of every member as a whole, though there are clauses in it to which considerable opposition might be urged. The Licensing Bill has received the unanimous support of our I.L.P. members of Parliament. They have appeared on public platforms along with Liberal members at thinly disguised Liberal meetings, and there is no one to call them to account.

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We should not mind a great deal if the people named would call themselves the "Peaceful Persuaders," or "The Gently Does It Party," or something of that sort, but they persistently label themselves "Socialists"; preachers of undiluted, straight-forward Socialism, etc., and that is where we object. We are not the only ones who are of that opinion. Their own members are telling them so. This is what Leonard Hall says in the *Clarion* of December 4th. After showing that the I.L.P. is in danger of being "(1) side-tracked by tired, timid, or trimming tactics; (2) disrupted by impulsive inexperience

truth. For instance, all our propaganda platforms are free and open to anyone who cares to take them in opposition. Are those of the I.L.P. or S.D.P.? We have been refused them scores of times. All our meetings, from the business meetings of the E.C. and the Annual Conference down to the ordinary branch meetings and the Quarterly Delegate Meetings, are open to the public. And why should they not be? We are not a secret society; we have nothing to hide. There can be no wire-pulling, intrigue, or caucus dictation in such circumstances. We don't flee discussion: we invite it. What is most important, we ensure a concrete foundation for our edifice by insisting that our members understand what they are signing when they sign our Declaration of Principles, and that they act in accordance with it when signed. In a word, we see to it that *The Socialist Party* consists of Socialists. Nothing illogical about that, is there? Do it now.

"PRACTICAL SOCIALISM" IN HARROW.

ALTHOUGH one of the schools of the master class dominates us from the hill above, yet among the members of the working class who live in the mean streets stretching out upon all sides at its base, a considerable amount of activity in the "Socialist movement" is evident.

Unfortunately, the inverted commas are necessary; for the only organised bodies are a group of the Fabian Society and a branch of the I.L.P.

As regards the former their activity has been confined to a series of four lectures delivered by Alderman Sanders, L.C.C. As might be expected from the lecturer, the usual Progressive, municipal gas and water "Socialism" was preached. Fortunately, the audience was made up mostly of I.L.P.ers, so no great harm may be expected. It is, however, with the political activities of the I.L.P. that I intend to deal. The local I.L.P. number among their fifty members a well-known novelist, an artist, a son of the local vicar, commercial travellers, and so forth. Now the antics of some of these "practical Socialists" are very interesting, seeing that they are members of that "great national party" whose discipline and organisation, and whose scientific knowledge of street corner adherence to the principles of Socialism, are so renowned. A writer in the *Socialist Review* urges that their watchword should be "Practical Socialists, close up your ranks," and one has only to give a casual glance at the condition of the I.L.P. to see that it was never more necessary.

Let that be as it may, the following will speak for itself. Last Autumn when the unemployed agitation was revived, when the "practical Socialists" were giving forth a flood of spoken and written nonsense, with a view to persuading the capitalist class to abolish itself (for that is what solving the unemployed problem means), this district was in the throes of a local election. Two of the candidates were non-party, parish-pump reformers; the third was an avowed Tariff Reformer. But Eureka! he actually advocated the solution of the unemployed problem by planting trees along the streets. Here was a chance for the "practical Socialists"! Several of their most prominent members fell over each other in their eagerness to "do something for the unemployed."

"What poor-spirited treachery to a great movement. Where will the dissentients go? To what organisation will they transfer themselves? Assuredly if they submit to dictatorship in the I.L.P., they will be subject to a similar yoke in the S.D.P., S.L.P., S.P.G.B., or any other alphabetical combination." That is from a member of the I.L.P., and it is as fine an indictment of the Hardie-MacDonald-Snowden combine as could be wished for. Leonard Hall's phrase "immoderate hero-worship and caucus dictation" seems to just need Russell Smart's "sheep-like adherence" to explain the whole wobbly structure of

Several of the members attended an open-air meeting at which their artist comrade acted as chairman, and when asked for their support, would not pledge themselves because the Tariff Reformer's answers were not satisfactory. Which shows that the latter was not "wide" enough to bait his hook properly. I asked them afterwards what was their intention re the action of these members; would it be officially and publicly disavowed? No, they could not do that, they replied: it would give offence, and they were such good fellows!

What blissful felicity! What mutual admiration! And what organisation and discipline in that "great national organisation of practical Socialists, the I.L.P.!" May all their guardian angels defend them next summer when they hold outdoor meetings, for the Liberals and Tories are waiting for them, to say nothing of the lone member of the S.P.G.B. who writes this.

I will give one other instance. In the local "Parliament" there is a Labour Party. One of its members is rather "extreme," and attacks the Liberals, his comrades think, *rather too bitterly*. As a result an open meeting was held to discuss the following resolution. "Shall we (the I.L.P.) fight the Liberals with the object of smashing them?" (By the way, the chairman pointed out in extenuation of the "extreme" nature of the resolution, that it was only "an academic resolution, made extreme to provoke discussion." The oratory that followed perfectly scintillated with gems of I.L.P. thought. My poor "impractical Socialist" eyes were dazzled; in fact I saw stars. When it came to the voting six or eight of the most prominent members voted *against*—against fighting the Liberals! Enough! What a rod in pickle there is for them.

These, then, are the men who make up the I.L.P. These are the "practical Socialists" who sneer at the members of the S.P.G.B. as "insignificant impossibilists." They claim to be the army of Labour, the hope of the working class. They are a mob, with an ignorant rank and file, led mostly by knaves. The hope they put before the workers is a *willo'-the-wisp*. They are those who, disguised as friends, inflict the gaping wounds that drain away the precious energy and life-blood of the working-class movement.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, small in numbers though it be, can rest content in the knowledge that with its scientific, revolutionary class consciousness, working in conjunction with economic evolution, it is always able to attack, and will finally overthrow, this party which, posing as the friend of working-class emancipation, is in reality one of its most deadly foes.

F. HESLEY.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. JOHNSON (Hulme), writes "Having bought your paper, *The Socialist Standard*, and seen you have many times said the workers don't pay the rates, I should like to ask you (1) Why do the capitalists not let the workers know they do not pay same? (2) Why Mr. Geo. J. Wardle recently said at the Grand Theatre, Manchester, that the workers pay the rates—they pay everything? (3) Mr. Masterman, M.P., at Crewe, 12 Nov., '08, said 'But much as he would like to relieve taxation from every class, if he had to choose between the man with 18s. a week and the man with £2,000 a year he should have no hesitation in saying it was more desirable as a matter of national politics to relieve those with the smallest incomes.' I should like to know who are up the pole, they, or I."

We point out to our correspondent that the capitalists no, when it suits them, "let the workers know they don't pay" the rates, for evidence of which see Chiozza Money's "Riches and Poverty," pp. 78-80 (People's edition). With regard to the second point, Mr. Wardle probably knows no better. His statement quite bears out our contention that the members of the Labour Party are, to put it mildly, confusionists. The Socialist contention, of course, means that rates are not paid out of wages. Perhaps even Mr. Wardle would not claim that the workers pay for "everything" out of their wages. As to the third point, Mr. Masterman knows his business. Slim capitalist politician that he is, he knows the use of such verbal trickery when working men are to be bamboozled. Apart from the question at issue, wage-workers are vastly more interested in high municipal expenditure, involving employment, than they are in high or low rates. If our correspondent will read the article on the subject in the June '08 issue of this journal, he will then be in a position to decide for himself who is "up the pole."

JOTTINGS.

THE EDITOR OF JUSTICE informs a correspondent (5.12.08) that municipalisation of certain concerns has not been done by the S.D.P. members on local governing bodies, but that "we were the first to advocate them, and the fact that our opponents, in spite of themselves in many instances, have been constrained to put such measures into practice, proves our forecast of the trend of development to have been a correct one, and also that in many cases we have assisted the development by forcing the pace." Then the "Immediate Reform of Public Ownership of Gas, Electric Light, and Water Supplies, as well as of Tramway, Omnibus and other locomotive services," in so far as it forces the pace of capitalism, does not "reform" the present system, but makes it worse. Unless the Editor of *Justice* would have us believe that "greater material and moral facilities for the working class to organise itself and carry on the class war" may be attained by permitting the capitalist to do so, anything useful to the workers. And this in spite of the fact that a few lines previously it was stated that the Government would not do anything "unless absolutely forced." Will *Justice* please explain how 31 members can force the other 641?

If the Labour Party were to apply force to the Government on any question affecting capitalist interests that understanding would be ruptured, with the result that every one of the Labour Members would find themselves opposed by Liberal candidates at the next elections. Such opposition would be almost certain to result in the defeat of the Labour candidate, and defeat means the loss of salary of £200 a year, together with sundry fat perquisites which the letters M.P. added to their names bring them for their lucubrations to the capitalist press.

Indeed, it is quite probable that the money-value of the letters M.P. affixed to the name of a "Labour" writer to the capitalist press has a great deal more to do with the attitude of MacDonald, Snowden, and Co. than is generally supposed. I know for certain, at any rate, that those two magic letters have brought the "Labour" writer entitled to affix them to his name as much as £5 a time for a daily column of stuff to papers which would not have accepted it gratis without those two letters affixed to the name of the writer.

Et tu Brute. What does the Labour Party think of this—not from the "narrow, intolerant bigots" of the S.P.G.B., but from their "neutral, friendly critics," whose member, Will Thorne, is in the ranks of the Party thus criticised? Fortunately, the leaders of the Labour Party have met this point by anticipation, when they have denounced the "dogma of material interests being the driving force in human actions" as a "blighting creed of withering materialism." What that brilliant remark may mean is carefully kept to themselves—to prevent overloading the minds of the rank and file with information.

"anything effective" for the unemployed. But hush, thou wrecker! The very next sentence puts the matter in order from the S.D.P. standpoint. Listen!

"Now Mr. MacDonald and other Labour Party chiefs dare not allow their Party to apply that force, because of the understanding between them and the Liberals regarding seats."

When we have said the Labour Party was indebted to Liberal support for their seats we have been told we were using "vile abuse and slander." Of course, when *Justice* says so it is merely "fair criticism." The point just now, however, is the remark that the Party chiefs "dare not allow their Party to apply that force." The Labour Party number 31 members in the House of Commons out of 672? What force do they possess? Merely the force of protest—nothing more. Fully in keeping with the position of the reform parties, however, is the suggestion that a small minority can obtain anything useful to the workers. And this in spite of the fact that a few lines previously it was stated that the Government would not do anything "unless absolutely forced."

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IMPERIALISM!

When a certain Imperialist was dead, his friends, who had forgotten all about him when he was starving, thought his great love of the Empire should be fittingly memorialised, so they clubbed together to raise upon his grave a chaste headstone, upon which was inscribed the following beautiful legend:

HERE LIE

the mortal remains of

JOHN SMITH,

who worked hard and died poor, supported

through all the trials and vicissitudes of life by

THE REFLECTION

that

HE WAS THE PROUD INHERITOR

of a share

IN THE GLORIOUS EMPIRE UPON

WHICH THE SUN NEVER SETS.

At his death

he was placed in this grave,

and his share of

THE GLORIOUS EMPIRE

was

reverently shovelled in on top of him,

so that he

came by his own in

THE END.

—Stockton Bulletin

How may this be done?

Here the truth of Marx's analysis of capitalism is at once admitted in practice, if denied in theory.

According to Marx the value of an article is fixed by the average time taken under the prevailing conditions of society to produce it. And every representative of capitalism, from the Trust magnate to the Co-Partner, agrees with this. Hence the incitement to a larger output of work and a minimising of strikes. Hence, also, the other statement of Mr. Balfour's, that "Every arrangement which softened or obliterated the division between employer and employee, between owner and occupier, was to them welcome." In other words, the employers adopt various methods for reducing the time

WOLF AND LAMB.

A QUEER PARTNERSHIP.

In the chair was Mr. Shackleton, M.P., one of the most conspicuous Labour members in the present House of Commons; the chief address was delivered by Mr. A. J. Balfour, in his capacity as president; and the vote of thanks to the ex-Premier was presented to a crowded audience by three gentlemen representative of widely apart walks of life, namely, Sir Christopher Furness, M.P., one of the great captains of industry in the country; Professor A. C. Pigou, Lecturer in Economics at Cambridge University; and Mr. Amos Mann, who has for years been associated with the Labour Co-Partnership movement, particularly in the Midlands. Hardly less notable than the group of speakers was the numerous company of ladies and gentlemen who supported them on the platform—employers and employed, Labour men and co-operators, philanthropists and Parliamentarians. Of members of the House of Commons there must have been at least three-score present, representing practically every shade of opinion in that Assembly. Mr. Maddison, M.P., put this unpolitical character of the gathering in a nutshell when, in speaking to one of the business resolutions towards the close of the proceedings, he declared that the annual meeting of the association furnished one of the few occasions when it was possible, without the risk of subsequent criticism, to stand on the same platform with men with whom one might disagree on every other conceivable subject but the one that had brought them together.—*Daily Telegraph*, 2.12.08.

And what is the object of this rare occasion when it is possible for this collection of such seemingly bitter and irreconcilable foes to stand upon the same platform? Let Mr. Balfour, the chief spokesman, answer:

"He advocated the movement, he said, not simply because it might minimise strikes, and incite to a larger output of work, but rather because it would give the workman a wider and deeper interest in his work and give him greater knowledge of the difficulties of the employer. 'Nothing can be better for the country,' he added, 'than that the artisan classes of the community should have the closest and most intimate knowledge possible of business methods, business difficulties, and business risks, as well as business profits.'—*Ibid.*

Here, then, is the description of the movement, gently named Labour Co-Partnership, by one of the prominent official representatives of the employing class. The occasion is when arrangements are to be made—or attempted to be made—not only for minimising strikes and inciting to larger output (matters of great importance from the view-point of the employers' interests), but also for initiating the workers into the knowledge of business difficulties and business risks.

What are business risks? Properly speaking, of course, the reference is to the business man's risk in the commercial competition.

Not only in the home market, but also in the foreign and neutral markets of the world, the "business men" of England find themselves face to face with the ever-growing competition of their foreign rivals. To hold their own in the markets or to increase their share of these markets it is necessary that they sell cheaper than their competitors. But to sell cheaper they must produce, or have produced for them, cheaper and overwhelming evidence from the gathering under notice.

How may this be done?

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required to produce articles, admitting that this is a reduction in the value of these articles, which can then be sold at a lower price.

But certain difficulties present themselves.

When trade is "booming," and the employer is making larger profits than usual, the "ungrateful" workman, despite the fact that he may be enjoying "plenty of work," sometimes takes it into his head that he would like a slightly larger share of the wealth he has produced so abundantly, and taking a "mean advantage" of the employer, he threatens to strike unless his demands are granted. To have a strike to contend with means stoppage of production, and therefore the losing of the opportunity of making those larger profits. The employer grates his teeth. Under his breath he curses the "wicked workers" who were not content—despite all the P.S.A. addresses delivered by various "Labour" leaders—to remain in the position in which capitalism had placed them. For the time being the master may yield to the men's demands, but always with the intention of finding some way out of the difficulty in the future. This, however, is no easy task, for, as Sir Christopher Furness said in a speech at the meeting mentioned above, "*Knowing how thoroughly the strike habit was ingrained in the artisan classes, Business co-partnership would have had no chance whatever unless the possibility of striking had been entirely removed.*"

Here, then, are the two difficulties facing the capitalist—to get the "lazy" worker to speed up, and to prevent strikes taking place at awkward moments—awkward, that is, for the capitalist's profits. Labour Co-Partnership meets both these points in a splendid way for the exploiter.

The employee is compulsorily "allowed" to take up shares in the business. Sometimes, when the employer has been seized with an extra acute attack of "regard for the worker," the latter is even allowed to be present at some of the Directors' Meetings, where he may listen with bated breath and awe-struck mien while the "superman" Directors wrestle with the "business difficulties and business risks, as well as the business profits," and tell him how the concern should be run. It is pointed out to the worker that unless he strains every nerve and muscle to produce as cheaply as possible, his rivals will get the trade and the workers in the Co-Partnership concern will not only lose their dividends (often amounting to fabulous sums), but may even lose their jobs, in spite of the fact that they are co-partners. And thus one point is gained.

Then as for striking, why, that would be absurd. Are not they "interested" in the firm? Are they not "part owners"? And would you expect a man to strike against his own interests and property? Certainly not. Then hurrah! for what is probably the most successful of the detail swindles perpetrated upon the working class. And cheer for the Labourite, Lib-Lab, and philanthropists who graced this meeting with their presence. Whether Shackleton (late chairman of the Labour Party), Maddison (member of the Liberal Party), H. Vivian (member of the T.U. Group), Balfour (late Tory Prime Minister) or Furness (Liberal steelmaster and ship-owner), they all agree upon this fundamental point—that the workers must be driven harder, bound in still tighter servitude, exploited more ruthlessly than ever, for the benefit of the employing class. And cheer for the Labourite, Lib-Lab, and philanthropists who graced this meeting with their presence. Whether Shackleton (late chairman of the Labour Party), Maddison (member of the Liberal Party), H. Vivian (member of the T.U. Group), Balfour (late Tory Prime Minister) or Furness (Liberal steelmaster and ship-owner), they all agree upon this fundamental point—that the workers must be driven harder, bound in still tighter servitude, exploited more ruthlessly than ever, for the benefit of the employing class. And cheer for the Labourite, Lib-Lab, and philanthropists who graced this meeting with their presence.

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How may this be done?

Here the truth of Marx's analysis of capitalism is at once admitted in practice, if denied in theory.

According to Marx the value of an article is fixed by the average time taken under the prevailing conditions of society to produce it. Our answer is NO! The workers not only do not share in the profits, but they have produced increased profits for the employers while suffering an actual *decrease of wages*. For it is the fact that since the inauguration of this scheme at the South Metropolitan Gas Works, profits have gone up by leaps and bounds, and the cost of producing gas has considerably decreased. While under the old system the men worked eight hours a day, under the new they work twelve! Not only this, but even with the longer hours the speed has been increased to

such an extent that more is produced now per man per hour than under the old scheme. The few shillings "dividend" the worker annually receives is based upon the fact that production must be brought to a certain level before any "dividend" is awarded. Thus the work is increased in intensity and the working day in length, and out of the vast surplus thus created the worker receives a miserable mite, far below what his ordinary wages, taken over the increased time of his toil, would have amounted to.

The much lauded Co-Partnership scheme is thus seen to be but another contrivance and a most excellent and successful one from any but a working-class point of view—whereby the capitalist is enabled to pick cleaner the bones of the worker lamb, and it is interesting to note with what accord the "Labour" leaders lend themselves to the machination.

J. FITZGERALD.

STEEL AND GOLD.

M. HANOTAUX, who has been French Minister of Foreign affairs since 1870, has been talking out of school. He has been telling the readers of the "Journal" that the Near East tangle will be set straight peacefully and why there will be no war.

'Protocols (he says) are only so much paper. Behind their fragile tissue lurks the real thing. If an agreement has been arrived at it is because certain interests have received adequate satisfaction, or because some pressure stronger than the will of princes, stronger even than the will of peoples, has been brought to bear upon Governments and reduced them to silence.'

That pressure, we are invited to believe, is the pressure of gold, and the power that is stronger than princes, Cabinets, and peoples is "high finance." There will be no war in the Near East because Russia alone cares to make war and she dare not. She dare not because she is about to launch a colossal loan. "How can the bondholders be in a happy and genial frame of mind class the ground trembles beneath their feet? There is but one solution, and that is peace." And M. Hanotaux sums up the situation in the words—"Europe buys her peace as she did

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR FEBRUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	E. Fairbrother	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman
Earlsfield, Penwith Road	11.30	F. Joy	E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe
Clapham Common	3.30	T. A. Jackson	H. Newman	P. Dumenil
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	F. C. Watts	J. Kennett	H. Newman
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. E. Dawkins	F. E. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald
Tooting Broadway	11.30	P. Dumenil	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen
"	7.30	J. E. Roe	F. Joy	E. Fairbrother
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	J. H. Halls
"	7.30	H. Newman	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	F. W. Stearn	J. E. Roe	F. C. Watts
"	7.30	J. Crump	A. W. Pearson	J. Kennett

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30.

Walham Green, Church, 8.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0.

East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury,

Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Trades Unionist" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Labor" (St. Louis)
- "The Keel" (Tyneside)

COMMUNE OF PARIS.

A CELEBRATION MEETING

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

36th ANNIVERSARY

WILL BE HELD ON

SUNDAY, MARCH 21st,

AT 7 O'CLOCK AT

LATCHMERE BATHS,
LATCHMERE ROAD,
BATTERSEA, S.W.SPEAKERS: T. W. Allen, A. Anderson,
E. Dawkins, J. Fitzgerald, T. A. Jackson,
H. J. Neumann, A. W. Pearson.PECKHAM BRANCH,
S. P. G. B.MODENA COLLEGE HALL,
ON PECKHAM RYE (OPPOSITE BARRY RD.)OPEN DISCUSSIONS ON SOCIALISM
EVERY SUNDAY AT 3 P.M.LECTURES—followed by questions and
discussion

EVERY SUNDAY AT 7.30 P.M.

- Feb. 7th.—The Case for Socialism. R. H. KENT
 " 14th.—The Curse of Intellect. T. A. JACKSON
 " 21st.—A Chapter in Social Evolution J. H. HALLS
 " 28th.—The Economic Teaching of Marx. H. J. NEUMANN

BATTERSEA BRANCH . .
S.P.G.B.LABURNAM HOUSE,
134, HIGH STREET.Lectures—
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
IN THE HALL AT 8 P.M.

- Feb. 7th.—Capitalist Development and Working-Class Enlightenment. J. FITZGERALD
 " 14th.—To be announced.
 " 21th.—Where Reforms Fail. R. H. KENT
 " 28th.—Evolution and Revolution. A. REGINALD

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

22, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St.,
Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch
meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B.,
Club, Laburnam House, 134, High Street,
Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.

BURNLEY.—J. R. Tomlinson, Sec., 10, Morley St.,
Burnley Wood, Burnley. Branch meets every
Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament Street.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the
Executive Committee. Applications should
be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 12, Burmester
Rd., Tooting, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays,
8, at Bridgeman's Coffee Tavern, 1, Burmester
Rd., Garrett Lane, followed by discussion
from 9 till 10. Public welcome.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove,
Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Fairbrother, Secretary, 1, Grotto Rd.,
Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets alternate

Tuesdays at 8.30 at Lockhart's, Walham Grn.

ISLINGTON.—All communications to Sec. Branch
meets Wed. at 8, and Economic Class every

Friday at 8 at 79, Grove Rd., Holloway.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance
St., Hulme. Branch meets Fridays at 8 p.m.,
at Lockharts, Oxford Street (opposite Palace
Theatre). Public admitted.

NOTTINGHAM.—F. Kneller, Sec., 27, Thurman St.,
Hyson Green.

PADDINGTON.—T. A. Wilson, Sec., 90, Mortimer
Road, Kensal Rise N.W. Branch meets

every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd.,
Harrow Rd.

PECKHAM.—W. Wren, Sec., 91, Evelyn Rd., Nun-
head, S.E. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30
at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to
the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road,
Ilford. Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m. at Club.

Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—D. W. Fisher, Sec., 52,
Petherton Rd., Canonbury, N. Branch meets

Mondays, 8 p.m., 2, Dalston Lane (2nd floor).

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road,
Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gor-
ringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets
Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tav-
ern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road.

Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at the

Boleyn Dining Rooms, 458, Green Street,
Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. J. Merrison, Sec., 181, Moselle

Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st

and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road,
Wood Green.

From Handicraft
to Capitalism,

Translated from the German of

KARL KAUTSKY.

The only translation in the English language
of this important section of the
famous "Das Erfurter Program."

POST FREE 1½d.

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February 1st, 1909.

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

*The establishment of a system of society
based upon the common ownership and demo-
cratic control of the means and instruments
for producing and distributing wealth by and
in the interest of the whole community.*

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT
BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is
based upon the ownership of the means of living
(i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capital-
ist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement
of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antago-
nism of interests, manifesting itself as a class
struggle, between those who possess but do not
produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only
by the emancipation of the working-class from
the domination of the master-class, by the con-
version into the common property of society of
the means of production and distribution, and
their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the
working-class is the last class to achieve its free-
dom, the emancipation of the working-class will
involve the emancipation of all mankind without
distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of
the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, includ-
ing the armed forces of the nation, exists only to
conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of
the wealth taken from the workers, the working-
class must organise consciously and politically
for the conquest of the powers of government,
national and local, in order that this machinery,
including these forces, may be converted from an
instrument of oppression into the agent of
emancipation and the overthrow of privilege,
aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the ex-
pression of class interests, and as the interest of
the working-class is diametrically opposed to
the interests of all sections of the master-class,
the party seeking working-class emancipation
must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore,
enters the field of political action determined
to wage war against all other political
parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly
capitalist, and calls upon the members of the
working-class of this country to muster under
its banner to the end that a speedy termination
may be wrought to the system which deprives
them of the fruits of their labour, and that
poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to
equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—:—

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

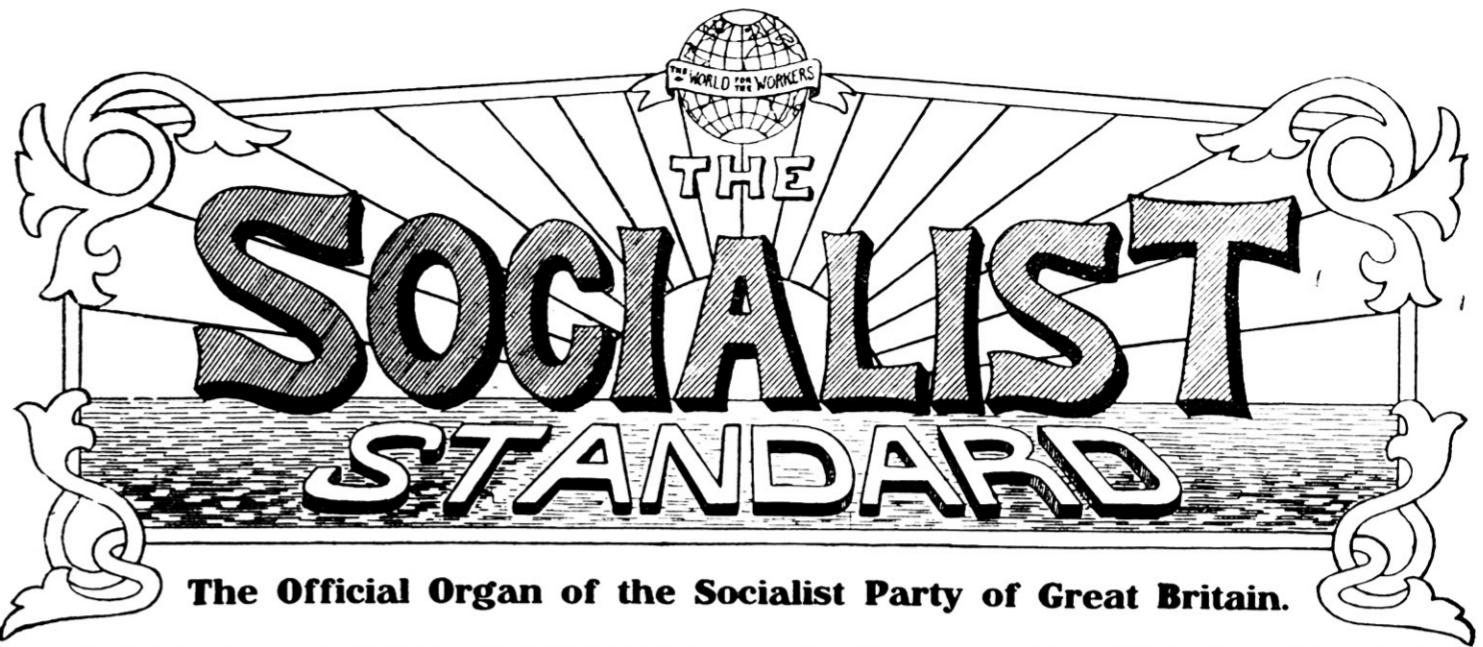
I hereby declare my adhesion to the above
principles, and request enrolment as a member
of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if de-
tached from Declaration printed above. The
complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 55. Vol. 5.]

LONDON, MARCH, 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LABOUR LEADERS AND THEIR PREY AT THE PORTSMOUTH CONFERENCE.

"Why does Russell Smart?" asks our contributor, WILFRED, in the February issue of this journal. We may answer "because he is not smart enough to obtain a place with the 'smart set' who are so successfully running the rank and file of the Labour Party into the Morass of Liberalism. And at no period of their career have they been so successful as at the last conference of their Party, held at Portsmouth.

The first smart move was to hold a "preliminary" conference on Unemployment and the Incidence of Taxation. This was so thin a swindle that one is surprised that some of the opposition office-hunters did not protest against it. But perhaps they thought the precedent might be useful—to themselves—in the future. By having a preliminary, and academic, discussion on the principle of unemployment, the "smart set" were able to completely closure any discussion of their policy on the matter when it arose at the conference proper. This was certainly a score for them. Moreover, while throwing a sop to certain sections of their Party by declaring that "Free Trade does not solve the unemployed problem," they were so assiduous in backing up their Liberal political masters that the *Daily News* (30.1.09) could say that the conference "gave a good deal of its time to a defence of Free Trade and an assault upon Tariff Reform." Mr. Fred Kneel wanted the reference to Free Trade deleted and was supported by Mr. W. Thorne, M.P., who, however, said that "a Free Trade country was better for Labour than a Protectionist country!" The obvious and crushing retort to this "facing both ways" statement came from a fellow Gas-worker, Mr. Clynes, who asked "Why take the words out, then?" Even Mr. Thorne might have noticed the beautiful "possibilist" position he was occupying, but running with the hare and hunting with the hounds requires smart men, and Thorne is hardly among the smartest.

Mr. Keir Hardie made the brilliant statement that "we have mischief enough to contend with already, without introducing that element of corruption into our political system which Protection never fails to bring."

Oh! shades of Warren Hastings and the South African War, hide your ugly heads! In this home of purity and innocence there is no place for you. What if the apostle of Free Trade, John Bright, did say "adulteration is a legitimate form of competition"? Are we not as white as the driven snow compared with those foul countries where Protection—and corruption—reign supreme?

For instance, the following resolution was passed by the conference:

"That there shall be created a National Department of Labour, presided over by a Minister of State, who shall have a seat in the Cabinet."

For what purpose? Even the promoters of this resolution do not pretend that the creation of such an office can increase the amount of work or employment at present existing. Of itself it can do nothing for the workless toiler vainly seeking employment. Then why such an office? The answer is plain—to provide one of the "smart set" with a well-paid job. And note, not only well paid, but with Cabinet rank, so as to provide, almost with certainty, a pension when retiring from the toils of office.

This is not corruption. Oh no! it is the purest of purity, and all for the benefit of the workers. It is almost marvellous that, with so many ardent persons striving might and main for the workers' benefit, not only is their position unimproved, but is even worse, as Mr. Keir Hardie himself showed when giving the figures of wealth and wages. He said, "Compared with 1901 wages in 1908 were down £26,000 a week or £1,300,000 a year. While working-class wages had fallen to this extent, the earnings (!) of those who paid income tax had, during the same period, increased by £147,000,000." Yet Mr. Keir Hardie is never tired of denouncing the "dogmatic Marxists" when they state facts exactly paralleled by his statement quoted above.

Certainly people of a particular character require good memories, or contradictions such as this may be tabulated against them.

The support of Liberalism was carried a step further in the discussion on the Incidence of Taxation. As Frederick Engels said, this is a matter of absorbing interest to the bourgeoisie, but of little moment to the proletariat. Therefore the "Labour Leaders" discussed it at length. Mr. Snowden said "Four-fifths of the duties raised from Customs and Excise were paid by the wage-earning classes." The wage-earning "classes" were quite ignorant of ever being in possession of such vast wealth, or they would have gone yachting in the Mediterranean or otherwise have "seen a bit of life," instead of squandering their substance in taxes. Then the good Liberal stalking-horse, "Taxation of Land Values" was trotted out, giving Mr. G. Barnes an opportunity to air his profound knowledge and statesmanship. "We get to the bottom of all monopolies by taxing the land," he said. This hoary old chestnut has so alluring an appearance to most working men that a detailed treatment of the point may well form the subject of a future article. All we need say here is that no shifting of the incidence of taxation has the slightest material effect against the fact that the workers are wage-slaves, and while deprived

of every means of living, except by the sale of their energies and abilities on the labour market, are completely at the mercy and control of the capitalist class. But the value of such agitation by the leaders of the Labour Party is shown by the articles in the *Daily News* referred to above, where it is stated that "the opinions of the conference differ little, if at all, upon practical politics from those of the vast mass of progressives in these islands." Exactly what we have always stated in reference to these proposals.

Then the "regular" business of the conference began. The chairman's speech is not of sufficient importance for specific treatment, so we may take up the other points.

One of the first troubles to arise was on the action of the Executive Committee at the Dundee bye-election, where the said Executive had refused to support Mr. Stuart, of the Postmen's Federation, against Mr. Winston Churchill. Even the most "thick and thin" of the Labour Party's supporters would never dream of calling Mr. Stuart "extreme," or "dangerous." On the contrary, he is one of the "sane" and "safer" men in their ranks. Then why this refusal of support? Let the prophets speak. Mr. Stuart said "The Executive were accused of selling the Party to the Liberals. He would prefer to say that the Executive had not sense enough to sell them: it gave them away."

To say that the Executive "had not sense enough to sell" the Party was more than any self-respecting Executive could stand. Mr. J. R. MacDonald and Mr. Alex. Wilkie stepped into the deadly breach and proved that the Executive had sense enough to sell the Party. "The Executive," said the former, "had never decided that the second seats in double-membered constituencies should not be fought, but they recognised that to try for both seats might result in losing the one held" (italics ours). And why? For the simple reason that the single seat is held by the support and permission of the Liberals, who would not allow the second seat to be contested by a "Labour" candidate. What better example than Leicester—Mr. MacDonald's own constituency—need be given?

Mr. Wilkie declared that "nothing short of an earthquake could win both these seats for Labour." Of course, he meant the political

Mr. Wilkie just as soon as the rank and file grasp the main principles of Socialism and apply that knowledge to their actions. Then indeed Mr. Wilkie and his clique will be thrown off their political pins, and be buried beneath the debris of fallen capitalism. But for the present they are safe in their bargain, for to

confirm the free hand they have always given themselves in this matter, the Executive had resolved that "it would be no violation of our Constitution if our members were to take part in Free Trade League meetings," and this was approved by the conference. The rule of not identifying themselves with Tory or Liberal party is therefore thrown overboard in favour of Liberal Free Traders, and the "smart set" are triumphant.

Then interest centred around the resolution moved by Ben Tillett that "no member or candidate run under the auspices of the Labour Party shall appear or support any measure upon the same platform as members of the capitalist political parties." This had reference to the Licensing Bill, and to the canting, snuffing hypocries of the slimy nonconformist Labour M.P.s of the Henderson type. To anyone acquainted with Tillett's career it was easy to see that he laid himself open to a crushing rejoinder. His own dirty work in advocating emigration to Australia as a cure for unemployment, on behalf and in the pay of the New South Wales capitalists, should be sufficient to expose his double-dealing. Instead, however, of attacking him from this stand-point—no doubt because it was a case of pot and kettle—they preferred to fall back upon the old dodge of personalities. Quoting from Tillett's pamphlet Mr. Henderson said "Is it helping the Party when Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Snowden and myself are described as 'toadies,' 'sheer hypocrites,' 'cruel hoaxers,' 'Press flunkies to Asquith,' 'blackleg priests,' and so on? . . . We will respect our manhood rather than be dictated to by men like Mr. Tillett." Evidently the sting of Tillett's remarks lay in their truth, or surely, in respect for their manhood they would have demanded the substantiation or withdrawal of the statements. They did neither—knowing substantiation was easy. Mr. Shackleton said "No member of the Party to his knowledge had ever appeared on a Tory or Liberal platform except Mr. Tillett himself." The exception is baldly taken. Numerous instances are given in past issues of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, and on p. 13, 3rd edition of our Party Manifesto is given proof of Mr. Shackleton—along with Crooks and Henderson—appearing on the Liberal platform in support of Mr. Benn at Devonport. Some people should have long memories, but no doubt Mr. Shackleton felt just as capable of blufing his way out of this difficulty as he had done over the question of his opposition to the abolition of the half-time system for children in the mills and factories.

Some mild amusement furnished by G. B. Shaw completed the performance given once more by these capitalist agents, which may well be entitled "Leading the Workers into the Liberal Trap." Never was our opposition to and exposure of these unblushing frauds more fully justified than by the shameless effrontry of the old gang of axe-grinders and Labour exploiting politicians at the Portsmouth conference. Only by the propaganda of Socialism among the rank and file of the trade unions will they be made capable of understanding their position as wage slaves, and the consequent necessity for the abolition of capitalism, and not of patching it up, as advocated with monotonous persistence by the misleaders we have been dealing with. Having arrived at this understanding, the workers will recognise that their political power must be put to an infinitely better use than that of providing fat jobs for nimble-tongued tricksters, shepherds put over them by their wily masters—the achievement of their own emancipation, to wit. Then the workers will at once wrench themselves free from the strangle-hold of these Labour garroters, and hurl them to perdition together with that system of labour-exploitation of which they are part and parcel.

J. FITZGERALD.

IMPORTANT.

Will all whom it may concern note that the Head Office of the Socialist Party of Great Britain has been removed to—
10, SANDLAND STREET,
BEDFORD ROW,
LONDON, W.C.

where all communications should be addressed.

JOTTINGS.

"TWENTY-EIGHT years ago the S.D.F. advocated national afforestation, not only as possessing great national advantages in preventing what capitalism was and is forcing on the world, namely, a timber famine, but also as a means whereby the labour of men otherwise unemployed could be utilised, and they in turn benefited. And now the members of the Royal Commission (including an ex-member of the S.D.F., who apparently has not forgotten all he learnt while with us) unite not only in blessing the idea of afforestation as many have done before, but produce definite statistics and estimates on the subject."—*Justice*, 23.1.09.

There's progress for you! Only 28 years of hard, honest, unremitting toil and then a Royal Commission blesses the idea you have been advocating. Surely this is a complete answer to those "young men in a hurry" who sneer at those who devote so much energy to obtaining these "much needed reforms." Here is a success sufficient to confound all the "unpractical," "impossibilist" hustlers.

* * *

True, the "unpractical" persons may retort that had the same energy and enthusiasm been devoted to propagating Socialism and making Socialists these "reforms"—for whatever they may be worth—would have been handed out by the capitalist class, not only in a much shorter time, but in far greater quantity; that the confusion engendered in the minds of the working class by associating these tinkers with the name of Socialism would have been avoided, and a far more solid—because clearer-minded—organisation of the working class effected, while some of the more extreme might even suggest that the reform, when obtained, was hardly worth spending a day, let alone 28 years, upon. As witnesseth the following:

"Afforestation appears late in the race, and even if undertaken to the fullest extent suggested by the Royal Commission (which they themselves do not appear to expect) it can only absorb some small fraction of the unemployed, and the wave of unemployment will soon overtake the difference caused even by wholesale afforestation."

No one, of course, but an "unpractical impossibilist" could have written that. Any self-respecting "reformer" would at once denounce it as mere jealousy. But, alas! it is from the same page of the same paper that was just previously chortling over its success in obtaining so valuable a concession for the workers.

* * *

Surely the rank and file of the S.D.P. might compare such statements as those given above and realise the futility of following the example of the horse purchaser in the ancient story where the horse dealer admitted after the sale that the animal he had sold had two faults. "What are they?" asked the purchaser. "Well," was the reply, "the first is that he is very difficult to catch." "Oh, I'll manage that all right!" confidently asserted the purchaser. "The second little drawback is," the dealer went on, "he is no good when you've caught him."

* * *

The moral is obvious.

* * *

The *New Age* for 14.1.09 contained an article in support of municipal bakers for the supply of "free bread for everybody." The point which seemed to appeal most strongly to the writer was that "It would positively pay the State in the long run to provide free bread."

The "State," to whom the appeal to municipalise anything must be made, consists of the representatives of the capitalist class. This will continue to be the case until such time as the working class, educated to a consciousness of their class position and organised for their own emancipation, possess power to use the machinery of government to their own advantage. When that time arrives the necessity for the working class to appeal to capitalism for anything will be gone.

Mr. R. Blatchford as good as says there is no Socialist Party because the posters for a recent

a state of affairs is not contemplated by the "New Age" writer (A. O. Orage) is shown by his having written "Private artists would provide it (*i.e.*, fancy bread, cakes, etc.) for the people who choose to pay."

* * *

A member of the S.D.P. alluding to the "impossibilists" recently, said, "they were like certain early Christians who went about asking people to kill them, so sure were they of going to heaven." The fact that certain persons hold opinions strongly enough to suffer death rather than give them up, is no proof of the truth or falsity of those opinions. For example, if five or five hundred people die to prove that 2 plus 2 equals 5 it will not affect the fact that 2 plus 2 equals 4.

Both the professing Christian and the so-called Socialist of to-day stand on different planes to those early Christians alluded to above. The Christian of to-day looks forward to a life hereafter, but if he gets a chance to visit the realms of bliss by passing through the Gate of Death, he will call in the best medical aid obtainable in order that he may continue his penal servitude on earth.

So likewise is it with that contradiction in terms, the "revolutionary reformer" of the S.D.P. He knows, or should know, that Socialism can only be achieved by the complete overthrow of the present system of wealth production, yet he works for this, that and the other reform in order to patch up the very system he is out to abolish.

* * *

Here is an example. After stating that waste was desirable in order that work should be found for persons who would be otherwise unemployed, Mr. H. Quelch (at Eccles, 17.1.09) in answer to a question, said in effect that organisation of various concerns under municipal and national management tended towards the elimination of waste and consequently to the more speedy overthrow of the capitalist system.

Whilst he does not hold with one capitalist spending money wastefully upon a "coming out" dinner that found work for some persons, he, as a member of the Right to Work Executive Council, would approach the capitalist class banded together as "the State," to find useful work for the unemployed, knowing full well that the problem of production has already been solved, and that anything produced by the present unemployed would only mean the consequent slackness or loss of work to those employed. In the one case "elimination of waste" means the more speedy overthrow of capitalism, and in the other he would advocate waste to overthrow the system sooner than if nothing were granted to the unemployed, by advocating relief works, etc. It would be interesting to know whether he is really of the opinion that waste or the elimination of waste is better for the workers under capitalism.

* * *

Seeing Mr. Quelch admits that the organisation of production under municipal and national control is used to the detriment of the workers whilst the capitalist class are in power, perhaps he can explain how "greater material and moral facilities for the working class to organise itself and carry on the class war" (S.D.P. programme) will be obtained by advocating measures whereby the workers will come more under the sway of capital. When explaining this point he might also prove the following words to be false. "The higher the productivity of labour the greater is the pressure of the labourers on the means of employment, the more precarious, therefore, becomes their condition of existence, viz., the sale of their own labour-power for the increasing of another's wealth, or for the expansion of capital."—"Capital," Karl Marx, Vol. I p. 660. Should he admit the truth of the above passage, then the reforms advocated by his colleagues of the S.D.P. are not palliations of the system from the working-class point of view at all, and support for the movement gained by their advocacy is falsely gained, because these supporters are led to believe that the lot of the mass of the workers would be bettered while it would not.

* * *

Mr. R. Blatchford as good as says there is no Socialist Party because the posters for a recent

March 1st, 1909.

THE FORUM. SOME OPEN DISCUSSIONS.

Issue of the "Clarion" said, "Wanted, a Socialist Party." If the S.P.G.B. had said the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society and Clarion Scouts were not Socialist Parties it would have been high treason. Still those persons who were about to join the Clarion Scouts under the impression that it was a Socialist body will reconsider their position, doubtless. Of course, it applies equally to the S.P.G.B., but then we are used to being told that we are "Tories in disguise," except when we want the platform in opposition, when it is refused to us on the plea that they take opposition only from non-Socialists.

* * *

ENQUIRER (Manchester) submits the following queries, to which replies are appended:

(1) In "Capital" we read, "along with the surplus-population, pauperism forms a condition of capitalist production, and of the capitalist development of wealth. It enters into the *fauve* of capitalist production; but capitalism knows how to throw these for the most part, from its own shoulders to those of the working class and the lower middle class." (p. 65 Vol I)

This statement, and one to the effect that high or low rates do not affect the condition of the workers as rates are paid by the capitalist class, would appear to be contradictory.

It only appears contradictory. The statement quoted from Marx amounts to, in effect, asserting that the capitalist class retain as much of the wealth produced as possible, making real wages keep as close to the subsistence level as is economical.

FITZ BROUH.

THE MARGIN OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

In reviewing W. H. Beveridge's book on "Unemployment: A Problem of Industry," Mr. Chiozza Money makes the following statement:

"Mr. Beveridge recognises that, as things are, every trade (save and except), and he does not appear to point this out, such organised trades as the Post Office, the tramway business of London, the London and North Western Railway system, or the Prussian State railways) is necessarily surrounded by a variable margin of partly unemployed and wholly unemployed labourers who are essential to the working of the competitive system."

One cannot help feeling staggered at the statement that in such trades as the Post Office, and in the tramway business of London there is no margin of partly unemployed and wholly unemployed. Has not one of the many grievances of tramway men been the question of those who are only able to get odd days, or even odd hours, work? And with the reduction in the staffs of railway companies that has gone on lately, the idea of the permanency of railway employment has received such shocks that even an M.P. should have noticed it. Again, in the Post Office, the thousands who are taken on at stated seasons and then discharged make the fact of the existence of a reserve of labour in that industry so plain that only a man wilfully blind to the failure of State capitalism to alleviate unemployment could have the temerity to deny it.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. SMITH, Ilford.—The statement which appeared in the December '08 issue to the effect that no trade union can act even as a brake to steady the downward rush is not correct. The Manifesto, p. 15, explains the attitude of the Party towards the unions and recognises their necessity under capitalism. The matter, however, will be discussed at the next Conference; while meanwhile, a careful study of "Value, Price and Profit" would be extremely useful.

The answer to the first question meets this, at any rate in part. By interesting the working class in the maintenance of the non-producers,

their support is enlisted in keeping the necessary expenses as low as possible, although the fact remains that as an item over and above the bare maintenance of the individual it must encroach upon the difference between the minimum on which the individual can live plus the raw material he obtained, and the total production, and so reduce the ideal degree of exploitation towards which the capitalist class strive.

PARTY PARS.

The S.P.G.B. at all points of the compass are meeting the enemy—or making arrangements to do so. The Anti-Socialist Union have agreed at four different places to meet us in debate. Early in March a discussion will take place between representatives of the two organisations at Paddington. At Tottenham a Mr. Farraday is to meet Anderson as soon as arrangements for hall accommodation have been settled. Islington and Battersea have also negotiations pending.

There is to be, too, a reawakening of a discussion already held between Anderson and a Councillor Freeman. On that occasion, when Freeman deputised for a fellow Councillor, the Party position was absolutely unscratched by the opponent. Recently, at Tooting, the same Freeman boasted that he had "wiped the floor" with our representative. He was promptly invited to repeat the performance before a Tooting audience, as things have been going all our way there. Doubtless the worthy Councillor will make good his acceptance of the invitation.

The S.L.P. is anxious to demonstrate the fact that it has at least one representative in London. The negotiations for a debate with a person reputed to represent that Party were nearing completion when it was discovered that he was no longer a member and could not act further. We understand that Mr. F. Budgen will therefore appear on their behalf.

The leaflet noticed in our leader column last month has been in great demand, and the supply that was at the Head Office is practically exhausted. A new one has been issued on a more general topic, entitled: "Socialism versus Social Reform." It can be supplied to branches and others at 7s. 6d. per thousand.

The attention of all concerned is drawn to the fact that the Fifth Annual Conference of the Party will be held at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte St., Fitzroy Sq., W., on Friday, April 9th, and Saturday, April 10th, commencing each day at 10 o'clock. In the evening of Friday, at 7.30, the Annual Social will be held. Admission will be by ticket (6d. each), to be had of all Branch Secretaries or at the door.

On the 21st of March the Battersea Branch are holding a Commune Celebration meeting at the Letchmere Baths. Full particulars on the back page.

D. K.

COMMUNIST CLUB, 107, CHARLOTTE ST., FITZROY SQ., W.C.

FRI. & SAT., APRIL 9th & 10th

AT 10 A.M.
PUBLIC ADMITTED.

. . . A GRAND SOCIAL . . .

WILL BE HELD IN THE EVENING OF
FRIDAY, APRIL 9th, AT 7.30
IN THE LARGE HALL

ADMISSION BY TICKET to be obtained of all Branch Secretaries or at the door.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.**UNITED KINGDOM.**

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Six "	9d.
AMERICA.		
Twelve Months	50 cents.
Six "	25 cents.

The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY,

MAR. 1, 1909.

The Opening of Parliament.

On the morning of the opening of Parliament, the *Morning Leader*, after its usual panegyric of Liberalism, added that "Mr. Asquith has declared the question of the House of Lords to be the dominating issue in politics to-day; and assuredly no programme and no line of policy which ignores or disregards that issue for a moment can end in anything but disaster." In another part of the same issue the *Morning Leader* also says "Parliament is opened to-day, and, in the words of the Premier's summons to his followers, matters of grave and urgent importance will arise. Chief of these should be the opening of the campaign against the veto of the House of Lords." Yet the King's speech, which outlined the Liberal policy for the coming session, contained no word of reference to this "dominating issue." One could almost hear the spirits of the faithful Liberals fall. Even Lord Lansdowne could not help remarking on that notable omission from the King's speech. The dominant issue, indeed, seems to be the raising of cash, for the speech contained the following significant statement. "The provision necessary for the services of the State in the ensuing year will require very serious consideration, and, in consequence, less time than usual will, I fear, be available for the consideration of other legislative measures." Rather cold comfort this, to the deluded electors who rose a while back to the bait of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." But to those who know the Liberal Party it is merely the fulfilment of their expectations. Liberal peace is the shooting down of strikers; Liberal retrenchment is returning to the Treasury money voted for the unemployed, and to out-Tory the Tories in matters of naval policy; while Liberal reform is typified by the mis-called Education Bill and the Bill for the disestablishment of the Church in Wales (neither of which is of the slightest good to the workers) and in the transformation of the Poor Law (of which the old age pension scheme was the first step) in order to reduce the cost of poor relief by providing quite inadequate provision for the physically incapable, and penal colonies for the rest.

Labour Bureaux.

One of the measures that may engage the attention of Parliament is that concerning Labour Bureaux—which again is typical of the true Liberal policy of serving the masters. Labour exchanges, when controlled by the Government, directly or indirectly, become recruiting offices for blacklegs. If a man on the books dares to refuse a job because the pay is too bad, he forthwith becomes a "won't-work" in the eyes of the officials, and is treated accordingly. Government controlled labour bureaux thus become instruments of the employing class for decreasing wages and breaking the worker's spirit. Apart from this there is, moreover, the very obvious fact (which seems to escape many) that as stated by Mr. Chiozza Money in a

morning paper on Feb. 16th, "the establishment of a Labour bureau does not create a single hour's more work." Broadly speaking, this is undeniable, and shows the absurdity of the claim that labour exchanges would alleviate unemployment.

Afforestation.

Now that the Commission which sat on this question has reported, the unemployed may be cheered to think that a solution of their difficulties is soon to be found. If they take the advice of their friends of the S.D.P., anyway, this is so. The fact that the Commission discover that the land available for this purpose, however, can only find employment for some few hundreds of men, does not point to much relief—far less solution—that way. Perhaps that is why the S.D.P. usually couple the reclamation of foreshores with their afforestation proposals; although it certainly seems to be building one's hopes on sandy foundations. Mr. Chiozza Money is concerned with the aspect of railway rates in connection with any Government proposals along the lines of the Commission's recommendations, but new factors might easily be introduced into the question by the time the trees have grown.

It is interesting to speculate on the future of the S.D.P. if the Government continue to take the wind out of its sails by adopting its most exclusive proposals. With old age pensions, free feeding of school children, afforestation and so forth, the party which has claimed a monopoly of the advocacy of these "palliatives" for 28 years will either have to be absorbed into the party which adopts them, or drop them altogether and seek fresh fields and pastures new. It might, of course, remember that it is professedly a Socialist organisation, and adopt that as one of its items; but in that case, too, it should allow itself to be absorbed into the party which has been doing so, if not for 28 years, at any rate since its inception. But that course would be too logical to be expected from the S.D.P., from what we know of that body.

If the Liberal Party continue to adopt S.D.P. proposals at the same rate as recently, the 50 or so proposals of an immediate and practical nature will certainly have to be extended to assure the continuance of that body. This may have been already recognised, and is a possible explanation of the reconsideration of the programme now being conducted by the committee appointed by the last Conference.

The Socialist Party has no fear that its only proposal will be adopted by any capitalist party and is not afraid of concentrating its whole attention on Socialism as the only solution of problems incident to capitalism and the only policy that can logically be adopted by a revolutionary working class.

WHO WANTS A MAN?**MECHANIC OFFERS HIMSELF FOR SALE.**

A LEADING New York daily paper has just advertised a man, warranted sound in wind and limb, for sale. He describes himself as 43 years old. He says he understands machinery, and is a good mechanic, but has been out of work for nine months, and is willing to sell himself for food, clothes, and lodging. If no purchaser is forthcoming he will be knocked down by auction to the highest bidder. The man does not sign his name, but the philanthropist who financed the advertisement lent his address. On inquiry it was found that Mr. Loughlin, secretary of the Brooklyn Board of Trade, had inserted the advertisement which he declared was genuine in every way. Before the American panic, the man had been earning £5 weekly in a machinery shop, but since then, despite applications at over 200 machine shops which advertised for men, he has failed to secure a job. At most of them, he says, 150 to 200 men are waiting. He has a record of these places and shows it. Mr. Loughlin says he has personally examined the case, and thinks it is interesting, as proving that the time is not yet ripe for the return of the scores of thousands of aliens who left the States for Europe when the hard time came last year. Industrial conditions are improving, but the process is gradual.—"People," 24.1.09.

A CUTTING CUTTING.

"WHEN found make a note of!" Thus our old and esteemed friend, Cap'n Cuttle. Here is something we found and made a note of. It was discovered in the financial column of *London Opinion* for November 21st last. You all remember the great cotton "lock-out" of last year? The capitalist Press was never tired of reminding you of the awful loss the workers sustained in working days, wages, and what not, whilst the loss to "your country's trade" was incalculable, irreparable, and altogether deplorable. The inference is, of course, that you were a very stupid, short-sighted lot, to grumble at, and actually go so far as to resist, attempts at slicing your wages. A shilling in the pound off £2 10-pence week only meant 2s. 6d. per week short, and £2 7s. 6d. was not such a bad wage, after all. Why will you be so unreasonable?

Perhaps it is accounted for by the fact that many of you were only getting 18s. or £1 per week, and 5% off that meant all the difference between at best a hand-to-mouth existence and positive privation. Many of you, no doubt, took the view that "if we accept a 5% reduction, what is to prevent the imposition of a 10 or 20% reduction?" Perhaps the cutting will help us.

TEXTILES.—The termination of the strike amongst the Cotton operatives should have a good effect on prices in this section of the Industrial Market. That little harm will have been done appears apparent, and that the masters will be benefited to no small extent seems probable, for they have been able to get rid of the large surplus stocks which had accumulated during the depression which is now passing away, in addition to saving an enormous aggregate in wages and working expenses. *London Opinion.*

The italics are ours.

Need we say more? Do you want it any plainer than that? They have given you the sack for several months and made a profit on the business. Sounds like a joke, doesn't it?

In our unregenerate days we used to wonder what the Socialists meant by affirming that the average trade union was the best friend the employers ever had. Is anyone in doubt after perusing a statement like the foregoing? Five or six months without employment and consequent lack of the wherewithal to live, would, if occurring upon so large a scale as in the instance under notice, speedily settle the hash of the workers. How fortunate, then, that when the cotton operatives have produced more fabric than the market can absorb, and the employers "find themselves compelled to announce a reduction in wages" in the sure and certain knowledge that the men will "jib," how fortunate, we say, that the men are able through their trade union, to scrape along on bread and margarine until the "large surplus stocks" have been got rid of.

Nothing remains to be done now but to create some more surplus stocks, and then the same tragicomedy will be enacted over again. You pay the piper, fellow-workers, how do you like the tune? Don't you think a change of melody might be advantageous? Or do you prefer to shuffle along until the fast approaching day when you will be "scrapped"—too old at forty—and die in the cheerful knowledge that your children will do the same?

On our back page you will find a Declaration of Principles. Read it through carefully and think it over. There is not a difficult word or sentence in it. It was thought out, written and put together by working men; it should not be difficult for any working man in possession of ordinary common sense to understand it. If you should be doubtful upon any point, let us have your difficulty. It will only cost you a penny stamp. Or if you care to drop in at any of our meetings (they are all open) we will do our best to help you there. But, above all, do something definite. Don't become a "half-and-half." Don't become a parti-coloured nonentity—a Socialist "er, to a certain extent" to the Socialist; a Liberal to the Liberal; a Tory to the Tory and nothing to the nobody.

If you see no flaws in our position, let us have your name and, above everything, your help. Socialism will come in your time—if you want it—and work for it. Our Secretary waits.

WILFRED.

WHY WE COMMEMORATE THE COMMUNE.

Commune lasted the conditions under which men governed, tyrannised, fought, killed, and themselves found death were those of pure anarchy." Such specimens of class misrepresentation are by no means rare in this "history," yet in spite of class bias, they are compelled to admit in speaking of the "re-conquest" of Paris after the Commune, that "From the beginning it was evident that the conquerors would be implacable. Hardly had the army entered the city than the executions began. . . At the barracks people were shot down by the dozen. Whole districts were depopulated by flight, arrests, and executions. . . Meanwhile long processions of prisoners (forty thousand had been taken) were journeying with parched throats, blistered feet, and fettered hands along the road from Paris to Versailles, and as they passed through the boulevards of Louis XIV's town, they were greeted with yells and sometimes with blows. They were crowded hastily into improvised prisons, one of which was merely a large court-yard where thousands of poor wretches lived for weeks with no lodging but the muddy ground, . . . and whence they were dispatched with a bullet in the head when desperation led them to rebel. . . The punishment inflicted on the insurgents was so ruthless that it seemed to be a counter-manifestation of French hatred for Frenchmen in civic disturbance rather than a judicial penalty applied to a heinous offence. The number of Parisians killed by French soldiers in the last week in May 1871 was probably twenty thousand, though the partisans of the Commune declared that thirty-six thousand men and women were shot in the streets, or after summary martial law."

The peasants' revolt in England is another case in point. The poll tax and the attempt to re-enforce feudal services roused all over England. The men of Kent, Essex and Hertfordshire, though they attacked the houses of the more obnoxious nobles, and ransacked the prisons, did not plunder or steal, but simply asked for their freedom. This Richard II promised, and set thirty clerks to write out charters, upon receipt of which the peasants began to disperse. The next day Wat Tyler, their leader, was murdered by the Mayor of London; and when the peasants had returned home their charters were annulled and the King marched through Essex and Kent at the head of a large army and put hundreds of peasants to death.

Another instance was Ket's rebellion in the reign of Edward VI. Twenty thousand men defeated the royal troops at Norwich and demanded redress of grievances. Ket proclaimed a rude communism, and admittedly kept perfect order in his camp and consented to no violence. His humanity, however, cost him dearly. The Earl of Warwick at the head of an army of foreign mercenaries defeated the peasants, and then proceeded with a cold-blooded massacre which ceased only because Warwick feared that the "gentlemen would have to be plowmen themselves, and harrow their own lands."

There is, indeed, no lack of modern instances pointing the same moral and emphasising the fact that the savage crushing of the Commune, far from being an isolated case, is but the expression of the real feeling of the ruling class for those beneath. The worker who in the face of these lessons becomes the dupe of the sentimental humbug and humanitarian professions that cloak capitalist interests, is guilty of treachery to his fellows. The lesson must be taken to heart that on his own class alone can the worker rely, for the capitalist must ever remain the bitterest enemy of the working-class movement; and bourgeois honour, justice and humanity are but empty words to lure the worker astray. In all war sentiment is weakness, and nowhere more so than in the class war, and for the workers to be the dupes of bourgeois sentiment in the inevitable struggle with the capitalist interest, is to place themselves entirely at the mercy of the enemy.

It is not, perhaps, pleasant to find things so. Would doubtless be more agreeable if the tiger would peacefully lie down with the lamb, and fools may abuse us for pointing out that this cannot be. Well, let those who nurse such illusions ignore the facts if they will—the facts will not ignore them, and will find them unprepared. Let those who will not face reality soothe themselves with falsehood—though they shut their eyes the truth remains. The very harshness of reality makes him worthy the name of man but the more determined that it shall alter, and he finds that he must know rightly the nature of the society about him before he can take any effective step toward the change on which so much human well-being depends. Moreover, in emphasising a harsh truth—a truth to which so many wilfully blind themselves—we are but doing our bare duty by our fellows, for it is on the knowledge of things such as these that the speedy emancipation of humanity from slavery and the possibility of real human brotherhood depends; and that, indeed, is one of our reasons for commemorating the Paris Commune of '71.

F. C. W.

[CONTINUED FROM JANUARY ISSUE.]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

8. THE ECONOMIC CRISIS.

ALTHOUGH the general insecurity of both classes is under ordinary conditions already great, it is enormously aggravated by crises, which the production of commodities from a certain point of development necessarily calls forth from time to time.

Considering the importance which crises have in the last few decades assumed in relation to our economic conditions, and in view of the want of understanding of the causes of crises on the part of a great many persons, we feel justified in entering further into the question.

The great modern crises, which now rule the world market, arise from over-production, and are the consequence of the anarchy necessarily connected with the production of commodities.

Over-production in the sense that more is produced than is required can take place under any system of production. But, of course, it can do no harm if the producers produce for their own use. If, for instance, a primitive peasant-family harvests more corn than they require, they store up the surplus for times of bad harvest, or in the case of their barns being full, they feed their cattle with it, or at the worst leave it on the field.

It is different in the case of the production of commodities. This production (in its developed form) presupposes that nobody produces for himself, but everybody for others. Everybody has to buy what he requires. But the entire production is by no means organised according to a plan; on the contrary, it is left to each producer to guess the extent of the demand for the goods he produces. On the other hand, no one under commodity production (so soon as it has gone beyond the first stage of exchange) can purchase until he has sold. These are the two causes from which crises arise.

Let us for the purpose of amplification take the simplest case. On one market there meet together a possessor of money—say a gold digger with a pound's worth of gold—a wine-grower with a little barrel of wine, a linen-weaver with a piece of linen, and a miller with a sack of flour. Let each of these commodities be of the value of one pound—a different supposition would make the case only more complicated without in any way affecting the result. Let those four commodity-owners be the only ones on the market. Let us now suppose that each has calculated the requirements of the others correctly: the wine-grower sells his wine to the gold-digger, and buys with the pound which he receives for it, the piece of linen from the linen-weaver. Finally, the latter uses the proceeds of his linen for acquiring the sack of flour, and each one returns contented from the market.

In a year's time the four again come together, each one expecting to dispose of his commodity as before, and while the possessor of money does not despise the wine of the wine-grower, the wine-grower, unfortunately, has no need for linen, or perhaps requires the money for the payment of a debt, and therefore prefers to go about in a torn shirt rather than purchase linen. The wine-grower keeps the pound in his pocket and goes home. The linen-weaver now waits in vain for a buyer, and the miller waits likewise. The family of the weaver may be hungry and covet the sack of flour, but the weaver has produced linen for which there was no demand, and as the linen was not required, there is no call for the flour. Weaver and miller have no money, and hence cannot buy what they want; and what they have produced is now "over-produced," as is also what has been produced for them, for instance—in order to continue with the example—the table which the cabinet-maker expected would be purchased by the miller.

The most significant phenomena of an economic crisis are already given in the foregoing illustration. Of course, it does not take place under such simple conditions. At the beginning of commodity production each establishment still produces more or less for its own consumption: commodity production with each family forms merely part of its entire production. The linen-weaver and the miller we referred to for example possess each a piece of land and some cattle, and are both in a position to complacently wait until a buyer for their commodities puts in an appearance. If it comes to a pinch they can live without him. But in the beginning of commodity production the market is still small and easily surveyed, and production and consumption, and the entire social life, move, year in and year out, in the same rut. In the small communities of olden times one knew the other, his needs and his purchasing power, quite well. The economic fabric scarce changed the number of producers, the productivity of labour, the amount of products, the number of consumers, their needs, the sum of money at their disposal, all changed but slowly, and each change was immediately discovered and taken into account.

But things take a different form with the advent of commerce. Under its influence production for self-consumption decreases continually, the individual producers of commodities, and still more the dealers in commodities, are getting ever more exclusively dependent upon the sale of their commodities, and particularly upon the quickest possible sale. Delay in or prevention of the sale of a commodity becomes ever more fatal to its owner, and may under certain circumstances lead to his economic ruin. At the same time the possibilities for depressions in commerce increase.

Through commerce the many different markets lying apart from each other are brought into communication; the entire market is thereby greatly extended, but also made less accessible to survey. And that development is furthered still more by the appearance of one or several

intermediaries between producer and consumer, commerce making this necessary. At the same time it becomes easier to move commodities because of commerce and the development of the system of transit, and a small incentive suffices to concentrate them on one spot in large quantities.

An estimation of the demand and the existing supply of commodities now becomes ever more uncertain. The development of statistics does not remove this uncertainty: it only makes it possible to estimate at all, which, from a certain stage of commodity production, would be impossible without statistics. The entire economic life becomes more and more dependent upon commercial speculation, which becomes ever more venturesome.

The merchant is a speculator from the start: speculation has not been invented on the Exchange. And speculating is a necessary function of the capitalist. By speculating, that is to say, by estimating the prospective demand; by buying his commodities where they are cheap, that is, where they are plentiful, and by selling them where they are dear, that is, where they are scarce, the merchant helps to bring order into the chaos of the planless production of the private concerns which are independent of each other. But in his speculation he may also make mistakes, the more so as he has not much time for reflection, not being the only merchant in the world. Hundreds of thousands of competitors are waiting like him to make use of every favourable opportunity: whoever gets the first glimpse of it reaps the greatest advantage. That means one has to be quick, not to ponder long, not to make many inquiries, but to venture—nothing venture nothing have! But he may also lose. If on any market there is a great demand for a commodity, large quantities of it soon accumulate there, until there is more of it than the market can digest. Then the prices fall, the merchant has to sell cheap, and often with a loss, or to find another and better market for his goods. His losses at that game can be so great that they may ruin him.

Under the domination of developed commodity-production on a market there are always either too few or too many commodities about. The bourgeois economists declare that to be a very wise and admirable ordinance, but we think differently: anyhow, it is inevitable so long as commodity-production, from a certain stage onwards, exists. But this wise ordinance may under certain circumstances, and in the event of an exceptionally strong incentive, mean that the overloading of a market with commodities becomes so uncommonly great, that consequent losses of the merchants assume large proportions, and a great many of their number cannot meet their liabilities and become bankrupt. That means already a commercial crisis in its best form.

The development of the system of transit on the one hand, and of the system of credit on the other, facilitates the sudden flooding of market with commodities, but in doing so it also furthers crises, and enhances their devastating effect. Commercial crises had always to be limited in extent so long as petty enterprise was the prevalent form of production. It was not possible that under the influence of any incentive the amount of products produced for the entire market rapidly increased. Production under the domination of handicraft, like petty enterprise, is not capable of rapid extension. It cannot be enlarged by an increase in the number of workers, as at ordinary periods it already employs all the efficient members of the grade of population devoted to it. It can only be extended by adding to the labour-burden of the individual by prolonging the hours of labour, encroaching on Sunday rest, etc. But in the good old times the handicraftsmen or peasant working on his account, when he had not yet to contend with the competition of the large concern, showed no liking for such extension. Even if he consented to work overtime, that was of little use, as the productivity of labour was not considerable.

That productivity changes with the advent of capitalist large concerns. As a means of enabling commerce to rapidly flood the market with commodities, it develops a hitherto unthought of capacity, not only extending the market to a world market, embracing the entire globe and increasing the number of intermediaries between producer and consumer, but also enabling production to follow every incentive of commerce and to expand by leaps and bounds.

Already the circumstance that the workers are now completely at the mercy of the capitalist; that he can increase their hours of labour, and interfere with their Sunday (and night) rest, enables the capitalist to extend production more quickly than was possible before. But one hour of surplus labour signifies to-day, with the great productivity of labour, quite a different extension of production to that at the time of handicraft. And the capitalists are also able to extend their concerns rapidly. Capital is a very elastic, pliable quantity, especially owing to the credit system. Flourishing conditions of business increase confidence, induce investments, shorten the period of circulation of a part of capital, and thus increase its scope and power. But the most important fact remains that there is always an industrial reserve army of workers at the disposal of capitalism. In that way the capitalist is in a position to extend his concern at any time, to engage new workmen, to increase production rapidly, and to make thoroughly good use of a favourable state of the market.

[To be continued.]

INDEED!

Mr. Will Thorne, M.P., gave an account of his Parliamentary work last session to a small gathering of his constituents on Monday afternoon. About a dozen Nonconformist ministers were present, several leading Liberals, some members of Mr. Thorne's committee, and a number of ladies from the Women's Settlement and missions. Mr. S. Curwen presided, and after Mr. Thorne's speech there was a spirited discussion. Much unanimity was shown; indeed, the general agreement on Parliamentary matters between this middle-class company and the Labour representative was remarkable.—"Stratford Express," 30.1.09.

THE ARMED NATION.

The jingo spirit—commonly known as patriotism—always latent in the bosom of the unthinking worker, ready to be fanned to flame by the wiles of the pressman or orator, the strains of a brass band or sight of a bright uniform, the verse of the poet or the doggerel song of the music-hall artiste, is being aroused for the purpose of saving Secretary Haldane's "Territorial Forces"

bosoms swell with pride, ye proud Britons, for ye have something to defend—the Sergeant says so.

The 6th clause is illuminating. "One of the duties of the National Citizen Force will be the protection of railways and rolling stock, the other 'chief duties,' presumably, will be the protection of the rest of the property of the capitalist class. That amongst other conditions should, according to the writer, 'meet with universal approval.' Surely so! Millions of working men and women have held railway stocks—or tickets—therefore every man must approve of a condition which gives him scope for the defence of his seat—or standing-room—in a third-class cattle truck."

The beatific unanimity with which all sections of the capitalist platform and Press, from the belted earl to the sainted layman, from the *Daily News* to the *Daily Mail*, unite in the good work of persuading the propertyless that their interest is to defend the property and their property—"on the cheap"—is touching in the extreme.

There is one spot of green in the wilderness, however, one oasis in the desert, and that is—the S.D.P. Through the mouths of Harry Quelch, H. M. Hyndman, Will Thorne, Sergt.-Mjr. R. Edmonson, and the columns of our "revolutionary" contemporary, *Justice*, we are given to understand that there is one alternative between Haldane and conscription, and that is the citizen army, as embodied in a Bill to be promoted by that sole result of 26 years of S.D.P. wirepulling, intrigue and compromise—Will Thorne, M.P.

Between the downright Tory idea of conscription, and the Liberal idea of voluntarism, there is now this difference—the first stands for open coercion, the second for insidious compulsion, as witness Haldane's high appreciation of the "patriotic spirit" displayed by Rothschild in connection with the Alliance Assurance Company, which has adopted a rule requiring all clerks entering the service to join the Territorial Forces. But when this Bill of Bill's is examined it is difficult to determine which it approaches the nearer.

There is a pamphlet written by the latest star turn of the S.D.P., Sergt.-Mjr. Edmonson, entitled "The National Citizen Force Bill of Mr. Will Thorne, M.P.: An Appreciation and Explanation." The writer's knowledge of army matters is assuredly greater than his knowledge of economics, or his service in the army was, even from a military point of view, a lamentable waste.

From amidst a fanfare of trumpets and a dazzling array of "credentials" at the beginning we gather that a standing army is "an expensive toy for the ruling class." From the working-class point of view this is a matter of no concern, but no doubt the capitalist class are grateful for the information, and will act upon it. Well, the Sergt.-Mjr. has examined Will Thorne's Bill, and has failed to put his finger "on any bad or doubtful points it may contain." That's unequivocal! But maybe others can succeed where the gallant soldier fails.

The first clause, which proposes that, subject to certain exemptions, every man "shall be liable to military training" appears to leave room for revision—out of existence. The worker has no property to defend, therefore military training to fit him for defending that which he has not is rather superfluous—but where would Bill's Bill be then? This same clause "gives Ireland a chance of proving its patriotism," and "enables Irish youth to take up arms in defence of the United Kingdom." The Irish working man who thinks enough of the United Kingdom to put himself out to defend it must be a psychological phenomenon.

The information regarding the composition of the Administrative Council, in clause 2, is interesting, but as borough councillors and the like will not necessarily be altered to suit, this does not carry far. We now "come to the more serious parts of the Bill," but don't be alarmed, ye braves! as long as "we succeed in viewing it in an intelligent, patriotic light," and make up our minds that "if a foreign foe attack us," every male worthy the name of man would do all in his power to drive that foe "back from where he came," our glorious Empire, of which we workers hold so large a share, will be safe.

And now for the call to the "aristocracy of labour." "Trades-Unionist, you have something to defend and you know it." So let your

tit-bit of all is the affirmation that "the National Citizen Force is the only salvation of labour." This, coupled with a remark in an article in *Justice*, of February 6th, entitled "War Inevitable" by the same writer, to the following effect, is immense. "However, we are of opinion that he (the working man) would not be adverse to training under civil law, . . . but this would be too democratic for a capitalist Government to try." If the leaders of the S.D.P. have any sense of the ridiculous they will retire, and thus remove a factor which is potent for the production of confusion in the working-class mind.

It is evident that if the citizen army is the only "salvation of labour," Socialism cannot be so as well, therefore the S.D.P. can dispense with its affected object. Also, if it is "too democratic for a capitalist Government to try," why does the S.D.P. accord its support to Will Thorne, and sanction the appearance of articles on the subject in *Justice*?

The "War Inevitable" lucubration did not,

as might have been supposed, consist of exclusive information in the possession of the T.C.P. or the writer. It was the heading of a full page criticism of a sensational novel by one Allen H. Burgoine, entitled "The War Inevitable," which title, minus the article, figured in large type on the contents bills of that issue of *Justice*, for the obvious purpose of stimulating sales, in the typical catchpenny style of "yellow" journalism. Such enterprise should cause the *Clarion* and the *Daily Mail* to look to their laurels.

There are some curious examples of crudition in the article, amongst them being a statement that wars are sometimes set on foot for the purpose of diverting the workers from the real issue, and incidentally, of "killing off a few thousands." This cannot be described as anything but balderdash! The capitalist class have no need to resort to such catastrophic measures for diverting the workers: old age pensions are cheaper and more convenient, and as to "killing off a few thousands," from the point of view of that section of the community, the more the merrier. Besides, wars are expensive, and must imply, for a time, an excess of wages to the wage-earning class. This is not the policy of the wage-paying class—elimination of waste, not the opposite, is recognised as more to the point, as witness the growth of trusts.

Thus may one occupy the anomalous position of having as an objective, the extinction of waste, and yet of recognising that in society as at present constituted, the more waste the less want. War is instigated through the economic interests of the capitalist class of one nation or group of nations clashing with those of another. It may be engineered, partly, by a group of financiers interested in the production of stores and munitions of war,—instance, Boer War—but this alone would not be sufficient.

The working class has to clearly understand that the taking up of arms against other nations means the straining of the bond between the workers of the respective countries. The foundation of Socialism, which must rest upon the international solidarity of Labour, cannot be built up on citizen armies, neither can it have part or parcel with any scheme of armed nations.

Let there be no misapprehension on the subject of the "Armed Nation," be it called by that or any other name. Armed forces are maintained for the purpose of holding the property and position of the robber against the robbed. When the workers are able to dictate to the master class as to whether, or upon what terms, they shall serve in the army, then will the Social Revolution be at hand; until that day Socialists must concentrate upon Socialism, and leave soup-kitchens and army reforms to those who, no matter what their protestations, are in the enemy's camp.

D. W. F.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

The class of person to whom the *Anti-Socialist* is expected to appeal may be very accurately gauged by the character of its advertisements. Business men do not spend money for publicity through the media that will not get them into touch with the persons they want. The *Anti-Socialist* is, therefore, expected to circulate amongst owners of motor-cars, those able to buy gold and silver plate, trees and shrubs, and the like. It contains also an "ad" of a big firm of photo engravers, another of a wholesale stationer, and yet another of a legal publisher.

From which may be deduced the fact that, whatever our optimistic contemporary may say, it expects to do amongst the working class, its advertisers know fairly well that it is not the working class that will read it.

MANIFESTO

OF THE
**Socialist Party
of Great Britain**

Third Edition, with preface.

Explains the Party's position towards the S.D.F., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

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(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 T. A. Jackson	P. Dumenil	J. E. Roe	E. Fairbrother
Chelsea, World's End	11.30 J. E. Roe	E. Fairbrother	F. Joy	T. A. Jackson
Earlsfield Penwith Road	11.30 E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe	E. Fairbrother	F. Joy
Clapham Common	3.30 T. W. Allen	H. Newman	J. E. Roe	T. A. Jackson
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	T. A. Jackson	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 F. E. Dawkins	A. Anderson	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 H. Newman	R. H. Kent	T. W. Allen	G. H. Smith
Tooting Broadway	11.30 F. Joy	F. W. Stearn	A. Barker	P. Dumenil
Tottenham, West Green Cntr.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	F. E. Dawkins	R. H. Kent	H. Newman
"	7.30 A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	G. H. Smith	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 J. Kennett	J. Crump	F. E. Dawkins	A. W. Pearson
"	7.30 F. W. Stearn	J. E. Roe	J. H. Halls	R. H. Kent

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

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- " Western Clarion " (Vancouver, B.C.)
- " Weekly People " (New York).
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- " Labor " (St. Louis).
- " The Keel " (Tyneside).
- " Gaelic American " (New York).
- " Industrial Union Bulletin " (Chicago).
- " Club & Institute Journal " (London).

COMMUNE OF PARIS.

A CELEBRATION MEETING

ON THE OCCASION OF THE

36th ANNIVERSARY

WILL BE HELD ON

SUNDAY, MARCH 21st,
AT 7 O'CLOCK ATLATCHMERE BATHS,
LATCHMERE ROAD,
BATTERSEA, S.W.SPEAKERS: T. W. Allen, A. Anderson, F.
E. Dawkins, J. Fitzgerald, T. A. Jackson,
H. J. Neumann, A. W. Pearson.**PECKHAM BRANCH, .
S. P. G. B.****MODENA COLLEGE HALL,**
ON PECKHAM RYE (OPPOSITE BARRY RD.)OPEN DISCUSSIONS ON SOCIALISM
EVERY SUNDAY AT 3 P.M.LECTURES—followed by questions and
discussion

EVERY SUNDAY AT 7.30 P.M.

Mar. 7th.—The Murderous Cant of
Patriotism. T. A. JACKSON
" 14th.—Socialism and Current Politics. J. H. HALLS
" 28th.—Why the Workers should
be Socialists. T. W. ALLEN**BATTERSEA BRANCH .
S.P.G.B.**
LABURNAM HOUSE.
134, HIGH STREET.**Lectures—**
EVERY SUNDAY EVENING
IN THE HALL AT 8 P.M.Feb. 7th.—To be announced.
" 14th.—To be announced.
" 21st.—Celebration Meeting of the 36th
Anniversary of the Commune of
Paris at the Latchmere Baths.
" 28th.—To be announced.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

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BURNLEY.—J. R. Tomlinson, Sec., 10, Morley St., Burnley Wood, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament Street.

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STOKE NEWINGTON.—D. W. Fisher, Sec., 52, Petherton Rd., Canonbury, N. Branch meets Mondays, 8 p.m., 2, Dalston Lane (2nd floor).

TOOTING.—P. Dumenil, Secretary, 36, Byton Road, Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorring Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at the Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. J. Merrison, Sec., 181, Moselle Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st and 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

**From Handicraft
to Capitalism,**

Translated from the German of

KARL KAUTSKY.

The only translation in the English language of this important section of the famous "Das Erfurter Program."

POST FREE 1½d.

**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

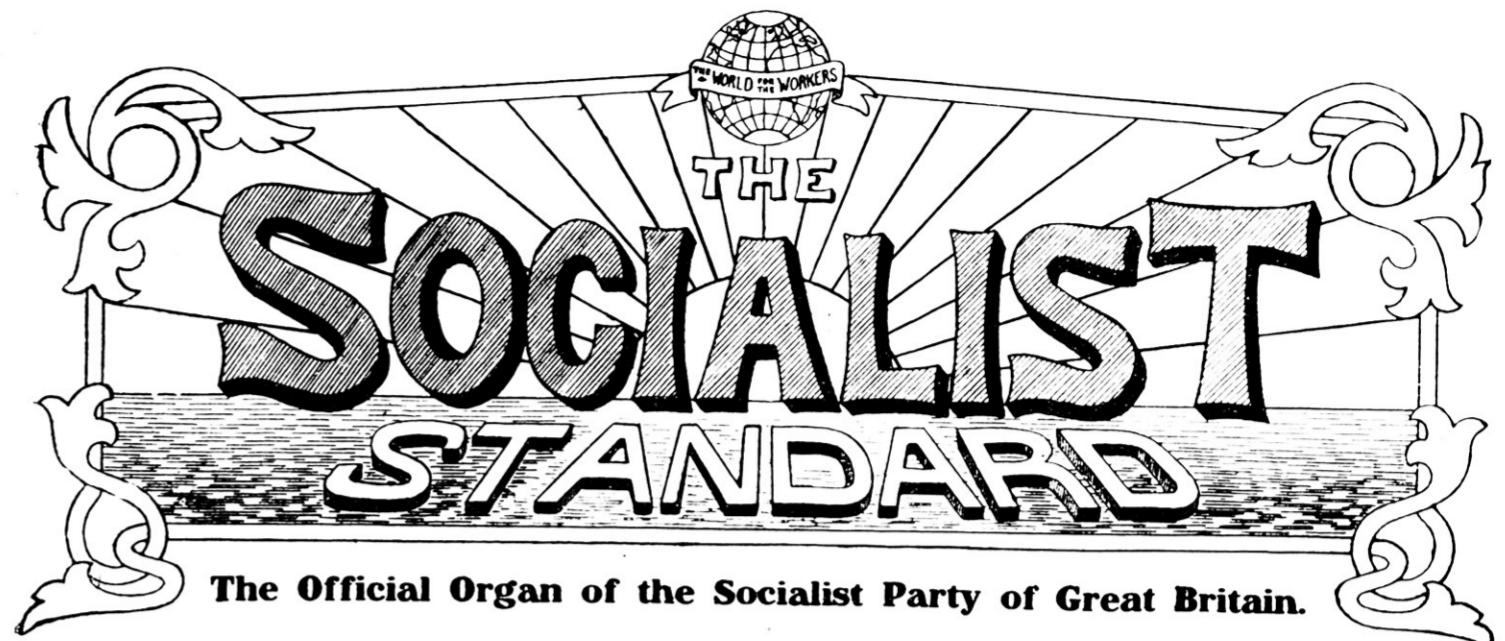
Address.....

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.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 56. VOL. 5.]

LONDON, APRIL, 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

STATE MAINTENANCE CRITICISED. IMPORTANT OBJECTIONS DISCUSSED.

At a time when so much precious working-class political effort is being run to waste in the vain clutching at "palliative" motes in the air, when the pseudo-Socialists join hands with the capitalist captains in leading the workers on all manner of wild-goose chases after "palliations" that, in the **very nature** of things, "d'na, ca'na, wi'na" palliate, it behoves us to iterate and reiterate the futility of all such striving and longing, and to regard all times as reasonable for the exposure of the criminal folly of any such aspiration. Interested only in results, like the dreamers of dreams we are, we leave it to the "hard-headed" and "practical" to enlarge on the moral aspect, to differentiate between motives, to find excuse for error and lend a sheltering arm to ignorance. Charity is a fine thing no doubt—in its place, and so many of us stand in need of not a little of it; but charity is quite out of place in politics, for politics is war—and war, they say, is hell. And who of us is so lacking in respect for existing institutions as to suggest, in the lowest of whispered accents, that charity is at home in hell? When it comes to war motives are nothing, results everything. Those intentions only are good which make for the advantage of the side on which the combatant fights; those intentions only are reprehensible which weaken the position or the fighting power of the respective forces. Maintaining, then, as we do, that the struggle for palliations is evil and even disastrous, to the working class, inasmuch as it is saying to the workers, in this bitterest of all bitter struggles, "there the enemy is" when *there* the enemy is *not*, we refuse absolutely to judge between intentions, to condone the errors of ignorance, or to find a soft spot in our hearts (which should be written "heads") for the fool and the meekling. Alike for the victim of the enemy's calculating blandishments and of their material bribery is our scourge. Fool or traitor is of a class to us, since they are equally useful to our antagonists—though in the long run they find the former the cheapest. They are in the way; they hinder us; they pander to the enemy and conceal from the workers; they weary and perplex so that those of our class who lift up their eyes for a gleam from Hope's belated spark, clutch, clutch, in wild frenzy at the little specks which snatched reflected light and glory from the beam, and finding when they have caught them (if, indeed, **The Effect of Disappointment.** they ever do catch them) that they are only black motes after all, fall back on the hopeless floor of their prison dens, crushed beneath the debris of their ruined expectations.

One of the brightest and most alluring of these little specks floating in the fitful ray of hope, and the one which the blind or bridled leaders most persistently encourage the dazzled to clutch at, is State Maintenance of Children. We are led to expect much from this "great" reform measure. Its advantages to the workers are paraded up on every conceivable occasion by the I.L.P., S.D.P., and Fabian Society, in their solicitude to provide in the interest of the master class, that reform which Mr. Balfour tells us is "the antidote to Socialism." But they never reveal how much of profit it holds for the capitalist class, and therefore of loss to the workers. Yet it is no extravagant idea that if they are really in earnest in their desire for this "palliative," they are confining their attention to the education of the wrong class. They would gain their object quicker by a propaganda campaign among the capitalist class, pointing out the advantages of State Maintenance from the point of view of capitalist interest. Though this is not the object of the present scribe, if logic does ever appeal to the reformers, the logic of this idea should prevent them from heaping invective upon these lines.

Given "State Maintenance," they say, the children would be fed and properly fed, would be housed and properly housed, would be clothed and properly clothed. It is confessed with **What we are Promised.** some reluctance that they will grow up better wage slaves, but with people only remotely concerned with revolution and the making of revolutionaries, that is not a matter to worry about. But the trump card is the anticipated effect in the industrial struggle between masters and men. With the children maintained by the State, they confidently assert, the position of the workers when appealing to the strike becomes almost invulnerable.

There are two sides to most questions—let us see if this one follows the general rule.

In the first place it must not for a moment be forgotten that wages as a whole represent the necessary cost (under prevailing conditions) of producing in continuity the labour-power for which it is exchanged. Part of the necessary cost of the production of this labour-power is the maintenance and education of children. It is clear, then, that if wages are still to represent the necessary cost of the production of labour power, any shifting of the incidence of child maintenance from the workers to the "State" must be compensated for by a general deduction from the total wage-bill to meet the altered conditions. And how is that going to affect the workers?

One thing will not be denied—the "State,"

with its more economic machinery, can maintain children at a far cheaper rate than **What individual parents can.** Taking **we Shall** note of the value of the services of **Get.** those millions of working-class mothers whose attention is occupied in ministering to the health, comfort and necessities of their school children, and of the waste of individual cookery, washing, and so forth, it is plain that the present method of raising human-labour-power receptacles is a very expensive one, and capable of a cheapening process to a considerable extent.

Is this cheapening of the cost of producing labour-power likely to be of any advantage to the workers? I know not. If any fact in political economy has become noon-day clear to the working-class perception it is that the source of all their troubles is that difference between the cost of producing labour-power and the wealth labour-power will produce; otherway stated—the excess of wealth the workers produce over that which they consume: still otherway said—surplus-value. The love of surplus-value is the root of all capitalist evil. It is for this the workers are enslaved. It is for this, indeed, that they are born, for the means of life as represented by the wages of the worker have become merely the means of producing that from which alone surplus-value can be extracted—human labour-power. This excess of their own products which their wages are insufficient to allow them to buy back and consume, heaps up like a dammed river and presently floods the markets with a surfeit of goods. And the labour market assumes the prevailing condition of glut, and men are unemployed and women and children starve—why?—because and simply because too much has been produced. Oh, this surplus-value plays the very devil with those who produce it, and it is evident that the bigger its proportion the verier the devil must be which it plays.

This being so, the argument is complete. State Maintenance of School Children means lowering the cost of producing labour-power, and so doing increases the difference between consumption and production, hence quickens the recurrence of crises, and aggravates the evil of unemployment.

In lessening the cost of producing the future supply of labour-power State Maintenance would finally set free the women of the working class for the labour market, and in rapidly increasing numbers would they be **we Enjoy** forced into competition with men for **It?** a place in the industrial field. And here again it may be insisted that there is a lessening of the cost of production of labour-power. While their attendance upon the school children was a socially necessary

part of the production of the commodity labour-power, the cost of their maintenance was necessarily represented in the wages of their male bread-winners—speaking broadly. But with the home ties removed their power of resistance to the demands of developing machinery, ever and ever calling for a lower strata of labour, is rapidly broken down, and the production of labour-power becomes cheaper because the maintenance of the woman and the man now brings to market the labour-power of the woman and the man, instead of that of the man only. What particular condition of chaos we are to have when, not only is there this vast increase in the numbers competing for work, but in addition, instead of the one producing the two produce, and their power of consumption is cut even lower by the increased competition for work, is beyond imagination.

And with regard to the much talked-of physical improvement of the children of the working class, even here the claims of the advocates of State Maintenance appear to be gratuitous. It is admitted that, in those working-class districts where the infantile death-rate reaches the most striking altitude, the foundation to the condition of affairs rests in the circumstances attending the infants' pre-natal existance. What effect the more general employment of women in the industrial field, with its concomitant struggle for place and the worry of unemployment, is likely to have on the generation which is to usher in the Social Revolution (not to view it with too optimistic an eye) may be better argued by those possessing fuller knowledge, but it does appear to the writer that what may be gained by better nutrition during school days may be more than counterbalanced by increased parental hardship prior to this period.

With the children placed even more than at present in the hands of the capitalist class, it were useless to look for any rapid growth of the revolutionary spirit in the young idea. Those workers who know only half as well as our rulers do how persistent first impressions are, and more particularly how strongly habits of thought inculcated in the young cling through life, will realise the importance of the workers jealously maintaining freedom of access to the plastic minds of the coming race. There is more than sufficient of capitalist soporifics, in the shape of admiration for the *status quo*, false religious and moral ideals, inverted views of natural phenomena, reverence for the laws of repression, and the like under the present system, as they know who have taken any active part in Socialist propaganda, without forcing our children entirely into the hands of the hireling "educators" of the capitalist class.

The idea that the children of the working class would ever be maintained by a capitalist State while their parents were on strike is most distinctly ludicrous. Every force on either side would have to be resorted to before so much would be conceded, and the issue had better be Socialism and have done with it. Certainly the power that could effectually fix on the master class the onus of maintaining the children of those engaged in industrial hostilities by means of the strike against them would be fully equal to the destructive portion of the revolutionary proposition, however far the underlying intelligence directing so fatuous an endeavour might fall short of that requisite to the carrying out of its constructive policy. I imagine the mere threat of throwing their children upon their hands would be sufficient to reduce to abject docility the most turbulent of wage-slaves, and with the general wage reduced by the simplification of the expenses they represent (the reference is to the abolition of "parental responsibility") and the keener competition due to increased supplies of female labour-power, there would be far less opportunity for that mutual working-class support and assistance upon which the success of the strike so largely depends to day. Hence the condition of the strikers would be very much worse than at present even.

There is also to be considered—and space may be found for it at an early date—the important part this "parental responsibility," or, as it really is, this obligation of working-class parents to raise for their masters sufficient children to keep the labour market supplied and wages depressed, plays in enabling the workers to maintain any standard of life above

that of the merest beasts of burden. But this is sufficient to show even the unthinking that there are two sides to the question of State Maintenance of School Children. It may be suspected that any "palliative" which offers so many advantages to the capitalist class, cannot afford palliation to the workers—the oft repeated assertion that the interests of the capitalists and the workers are diametrically opposed is meaningless else. Finally, let it be understood that our opposition to the advocacy of State Maintenance in no degree arises from indifference to the sufferings of our children, but from a deep conviction that so long as our children are economically regarded as only repositories in the making of the commodity labour-power, so long are they doomed to suffer at one age or another. We look sideways, therefore, upon all suggested remedies save that single, revolutionary one which, as the essential preliminary, restores to them their human standing.

That remedy is Socialism.
A. E. JACOMB.

TOOTING BRANCH REPORT.

FIGHTING A BY-ELECTION.

—o—

WHEN this Party was formed and we announced our intention of giving honesty in politics a fair trial, many were the prophets who predicted a straight course for us so long as we confined our efforts to ordinary propaganda work, but the zig-zag path as soon as we indulged in electioneering.

We were, and are, of opinion that Socialist political action must avoid compromise, eschew promises that cannot be carried out, and scorn to catch the votes of the politically ignorant by any means whatsoever. Honesty in politics demands that as a minimum.

For the second-time in our history as a branch we in Tooting have been put to the test of our political convictions by participation in an election (to fill a vacancy on the Borough Council)—once again to come through the ordeal, not only with our reputation unscathed, but with it considerably enhanced.

Of a truth, if ever an election offered facilities for the accumulation of a large number of votes by means of the sacrifice of a large slice of principle, this one did. The Conservative Assocn., who have a fairly strong hold of the Tooting Ward, put up as their candidate a local builder, one equally noted for the quality of his buildings and the quality of his wages bill. It was, of course, purely an accident that the first item on this builder's election address dealt with a better and cheaper tram, train, and tube service.

This, making Tooting more get-at-able, would create a demand for more houses, enhance rents, and give local builders and landlords "a leg up."

It appeared to us that items 2 and 3 dealing with roads, cleansing, lighting, and public conveniences also gave scope for builders' profits, but then we Socialists are biased, and the builder candidate with the above on his programme is not.

The remainder of this gentleman's address was devoted to the usual "efficiency with economy" gag, without which no vote-catching programme is complete; but the humour of this portion was made apparent when, three days before the election, a public meeting was held on this candidate's behalf. His speech, expounding his position and explaining his views on matters local, was fully reported by the local Press—in one inch of space! For economy—words—it certainly beat anything previously heard in Tooting from a candidate, but its efficiency suffered sadly by contrast with the speech of the gentleman imported to fill in the very large gap existing by reason of the inability of the candidate.

The Progressives very nearly let us in for the "straight fight" (beloved of H. Quelch [Southampton] and others) between Capital and Labour, inasmuch as their candidate declined at the eleventh hour, and although they announced their determination to find another, he did not materialise. The situation was now one we did not desire, for there are many who would give their vote to us rather than to a Conservative, though by no means in agreement with Socialism.

However, a third (and independent) candidate

appeared, whose election address told us he was secretary of the "Workmen's Car Petition for Tooting," a body which had been trying for two years to get an extension of 37 minutes for workmen's cars—so far without result. Very promising for lovers of "something practical."

That this candidate had no intention of frightening away possible supporters was obvious from the "non-partisan" character of the remainder of his address. For instance, this on "contracting out"—"The system as at present constituted is not what I would desire." This was inserted perhaps, as proof positive that this "independent" candidate was independent of any clear idea of what he wanted.

In the foregoing situation there was scope for a smart candidate with a judiciously worded election address, a forceful criticism of the other candidates, and a large stock of specious promises, to poll a fairly heavy vote, even though, much daring, he called himself a Socialist. But such is not the way of the Socialist Party of Great Britain. We know that votes, to be of any value to the Socialist, must be based upon a knowledge of what Socialism means, and also a recognition of the strict limitations under which a Socialist labours, even when he does arrive upon the local body.

When the workers begin to poll heavily for Socialism, the extension of the time for the last workmen's car will be among the least of the "sops" that the capitalist class will throw out to them, in order to stave off to the last the day of their exit.

Out of about 1,200 votes cast the Socialist candidate, H. Joy, polled 94.

THE BRANCH SCRIBE.

CHELSEA'S PIGGERIES.

THE County Council of London having proved their inability to help the working class, by erecting rabbit hutches and letting them at a price that the average working man cannot afford, Chelsea has come to the rescue, and now the *very poor* may rejoice. They are going to be housed if they earn 25s. per week as a maximum (and enough to pay the rent as a minimum). The rent is as much as 3s. for one room, and 5s. for two, which, taking into consideration the intense honesty of the inhabitants, is very reasonable. How do we know they are so honest? Well, listen!

"On the landings are coat-pegs and shelves overhead for hats . . . Also on one side of the landings a washhouse with copper troughs, and on the other side a scullery. These will be used in common by eight families."

Great Scott! Eight families living in common and enabled to do so by the "generosity of Earl Cadogan"!

We have been told by the "upper" class, that Socialism would break up the home, but eight families living in common! surely this is the beginning of the end. And an earl is "a doin' of it!" Of course it is a great treat for the poor to be able to live so, but has the generous and doubtless noble Earl ever experienced the joy and happiness that must be the lot of eight families sharing one scullery?

Truly the master class must have the utmost contempt for the workers when they ask them to live under such conditions, and a woeful lack of the sense of humour when they pride of their generosity in connection with such schemes, and expect us to be accordingly grateful. How long will the workers be content to be herded like pigs, while the mansions they have built are enjoyed by their masters? You cannot blame the masters for making things best for themselves when the workers are content to allow them to do so. The only ones who can do ought to alter the conditions under which we live are ourselves. It is the historic mission of our class to emancipate ourselves and all mankind, without distinction of race or sex, and to do away with privilege, both aristocratic and plutocratic, and take from our masters the privileges they withhold from us, and by our organised might usher in the Socialist Commonwealth. The instrument for this purpose is the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

P. J. WALKLEY.

WHAT CAPITALISM HAS DONE FOR THE WORKER.

SPEAKING in Finsbury Park a few Sundays ago, a member of the Anti-Socialist Union boldly asserted that the position of the worker to-day was far better than it has been during the last 500 years. The worker was in a better social position and got a larger share of the wealth produced.

When asked to substantiate his statements by giving his authorities he, of course, failed to do so. As a matter of fact the contention that the working class are better off under modern capitalism than they have been during the past five centuries is disproved by history.

What was the position of the labouring population during the middle ages? In the twelfth century the manorial system prevailed throughout England. The manors, of which there were altogether over 9,000, were composed of several hundred acres of land. One part was held by the lord, a part was divided amongst the other inhabitants, while large tracts were held as common land. The villeins, who formed about 38 per cent. of the population, each held some 30 acres of arable land and a house in the village. Next came the cottars or borders, who formed 30 per cent. of the population, each holding from 5 to 10 acres and a cottage. Below these came the slaves, who formed only 9 per cent. of the population and disappeared entirely after the twelfth century to become cottars. In return for the cottage and land the cottars and villeins rendered so many days' service to the lord, but were left with plenty of time to use at their own discretion. De Gibbons says in his "Industrial History of England," "It was from this cottar class with plenty of time to spare that a distinct wage-earning class like our modern labourers arose who lived almost entirely by wages." After a time the labour rent was found expensive and was finally commuted for a money payment. Professor Thorold Rogers tells us that a landless man at this time was considered "an outlaw, a thief, one registered in no manor."

Speaking of the condition of the labouring population during the middle ages, *i.e.*, up to the end of the fifteenth century, Professor Thorold Rogers says "they ate wheaten bread, drank barley beer, and had plenty of cheap though perhaps coarse meat. Mutton and beef at a farthing a pound,—take what multiply you please for the increase in prices, and twelve is liberal one—were within the reach of far more people than they now are. The grinding, hopeless poverty under which existence may be just continued, but when nothing is won beyond bare existence, did not, I am convinced, characterise or even belong to medieval life."

But a change had taken place in the condition of the workers by the end of the eighteenth century.

With the increase in the means of production came the increase in the poverty and misery of the mass of the people. The invention of the spinning jenny by Hargreaves, of the water frame by Arkwright, the mule by Compton, the power loom by Cartwright, and the steam engine by Watts increased the productive power of labour to an extent previously undreamed of. And see the "reward of genius" that fell to the lot of Compton: he died in 1827—in poverty! But these inventions enabled the capitalists to heap up untold wealth by forcing the hand loom weavers—who were now reduced to a terrible state of poverty—into the mills in competition with their own children. De Gibbons says "It was not until the wages of the workman had been reduced to a starvation level that they consented to their children and their wives being employed in the mills. But the manufacturers wanted labour by some means or other, and they got it. They got it from the workhouses. They sent for parish apprentices from all parts of England, and pretended to apprentice them to the new employments just introduced. The mill-owners systematically communicated with the overseers of the poor, who arranged a day for the inspection of pauper children. Those chosen by the manufacturers were then conveyed in wagons or canal boats to their destination, and from that moment were doomed to slavery. Sometimes regular traffickers would take the place of the manufacturer, and transfer a number of children to a factory district, and there keep them, generally in some dark cellar, 'till they could hand them over to some mill-owner in want of hands, who would come and examine their height, strength, and bodily capacities, exactly as did the slave-dealers in the American markets. After that the children were simply at the mercy of their owners, nominally as apprentices, but in reality as mere slaves, who got no wages, and whom it was not worth while even to feed and clothe properly, because they were so cheap and their places could be so easily supplied. It was often arranged by parish authorities, in order to get rid of imbeciles, that one idiot should be taken with twenty other children. The fate of

these unhappy idiots was even worse than that of the others. The secret of their final end has never been disclosed, but we can form some idea of their awful sufferings from the hardships of the other victims to capitalist greed and cruelty. Their treatment was most inhuman. The hours of their labour were only limited by exhaustion after many modes of torture had been unavailingly applied to enforce continued work. Children were often worked 16 hours a day, by day and by night. Even Sunday was used as a convenient time to clean the machinery."

It was not until 1802 that the first Factory Act was passed prohibiting the employment of children for more than 12 hours a day, and when in 1817 an Act was passed reducing the hours of women, and of young persons between the age of 13 and 16, it was denounced by John Bright, "the people's friend," as "one of the worst measures ever passed in the shape of an act of legislation."

Thus was capitalism built up, and it can not be shown that at any period during its reign have the workers enjoyed such a good social position, or secured such a large percentage of the wealth produced, as they did from 1850 until the close of the fifteenth century.

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS.

A SONG OF REVOLUTION.

—o—

Words & Music by H. J. Neumann

You toilers of the world, arise!

To bravely speed the day,

When all your forces organise

King Capital to slay,

And from the master class you'll wrest

The powers of the State,

Which, wielded in your interest,

Your class emancipate.

There sounds above the class war din

The battle-cry we use:

Unite! you have a world to win,

Your chains alone to lose."

Your lot in life is darkest gloom;

You sow and others reap.

And want and mis'ry are your doom,

While idlers treasures heap.

Why have they riches, you distress,

Though you all wealth have wrought?

It is because the few possess

The earth, while you have nought.

There sounds, etc.

While you an idle class maintain

For pittance you'll toil.

To own your products you must gain

Possession of the soil

And of all means the workers need

To found the Commonwealth,

And thus enable all to lead

Full lives of peace and health.

There sounds, etc.

Arise! the message to proclaim,

The message full of cheer:

That Labour's freedom is your aim,

That brighter days are near.

To men exhausted by the fray,

To women in despair,

To children wanting food and play,

To all the message bear.

There sounds, etc.

COPIES of the above four-part song

S., A., T., B.—(which will be sung by a choral party at the Annual Social on April the 9th), complete with pianoforte accompaniment and Tonic-Solfia setting may be obtained, price 3d., or post free 3½d., through the branches or from the Head Office.

The vote is what the man behind it is. The man behind the vote is the voter.

Only the Socialist can cast a vote for Socialism.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable."

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.**UNITED KINGDOM.**

Twelve Months	1s. 6d.
Six "	9d.

AMERICA.

Twelve Months	50 cents.
Six "	25 cents.

The Socialist Standard,

THURSDAY, APR. 1, 1909.

"Labour" in Parliament.

The hideous farce of "democratic" government, perpetrated with the aid of the "biggest majority of modern times," still continues to satisfy our masters requirements. The pretence of "great reforms" to come, combined with judicious doses of football news, divorce case, invasion scare and labour misleaders' "swank," suffices to keep the mass of the working class blind to the murderous swindle of which they are the victims. It is transparently clear that the accepted Asquithian method of steadyng the shaky fabric of capitalist institutions is just simply to make a great show of business while in reality simply seeking to gain time. Such a seemingly innocent measure as the Daylight-Saving Bill would appear likely to provide the Government with evidence of something accomplished, something done, and the I.L.P. proof of the improving condition of the working "classes" under capitalism.

The debate on the Address showed plainly the Labour Party's position, for Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, speaking on behalf of the Party, made it quite apparent, spite of all pretences, that the *status quo* suits that Party sufficiently well—"We are in no hurry," quoth he. The Labour Party's enthusiasm for triennial Parliaments waned, and Ramsay Mac (who, Blatchford tells us, is, unlike himself, an aspirant for the Premiership) reassured his friends of the Liberal Government, that his party (Shackleton, Henderson, et al) do not at all desire that the Government should precipitate a general election. No, we guess not. This amiable luminary of the I.L.P. knows a game worth forty of that. Indeed, in the course of this typical facing-both-ways speech, the Party's appointed spokesman contrived to demonstrate his regret that the purchase of seats "deprives the House of Lords of the respect which its historic position ought to gain for it." The House of Lords going? We don't think. Not for a while, at any rate?

Volunteer or Conscript?

When the Rothschilds (an international family, by the way) spoke through the Alliance Assurance Company, and secured the Liberal War Minister, Mr. Haldane's enthusiastic approval of their plan to assist recruiting by forcing their employees to join the Territorial Army, the *Labour Leader* called upon the Labour Party to take steps looking to the impeachment of Mr. Haldane. For, claimed the *Labour Leader*, he had approved "an action which is an open violation of the Constitution and of elementary freedom of contract as between employer and employee." The *Labour Leader* defending the British Constitution, instrument of class rule that that Constitution is, lacks not interest. We in our outer darkness, not having imbibed the respectable atmosphere of St. Stephens (or should we say its whiskies and sodas, Pete?) or basked in the smiles of ministers of the Crown, had not appreciated this

joyous "freedom," but we live and learn. However, to our moutons. The fatal day came, but no impeachment. Mr. Haldane refused to withdraw his approval and apparently the flutter is over—the Labour Party meanwhile looking pretty silly after its bluster. It remains for the Socialist Party of Great Britain to point out that so long as capitalists can buy wage-workers, that is, while labour-power remains a commodity, they will from their coign of vantage—monopoly of the means of production—be able to dictate terms. And this despite Constitution, law, "elementary freedom," and reformer to boot.

We may well opine that the master class of this country prefers, in its particular circumstances, to get its military and naval forces by a system "supposedly voluntary rather than by open and above-board conscription, with the anti-militarist reaction that conscription provokes."

All the better, of course, from the oppressors' stand-point, if the invasion scare and a vigorous newspaper campaign can obviate the objectionable (because enlightening) recourse to direct pressure through the threats of foremen and managers. However, those workers not entirely hypnotised by the *Daily Distresses*, "Wails," and "Crocodiles," do not require the official recruiting reports to tell them that a percentage closely approaching one hundred of recruits enlist in the Regular Army because they are unemployed and see no hope of getting food, clothing, and shelter elsewhere. Many's the poor lad we know who, trudging the weary streets for weeks and months looking for a master and finding none, or else employment under the most degrading conditions, becomes an object of suspicion at home, and finding life unbearable outside, is simply driven into the ranks of Capital's military protectors. (Yet the S.P.P. finds it in its heart, or rather in its unstable head, and in the face of facts, to declare that the soldier unclasses himself and is unworthy to be received within a working-class organisation.) This, then, is what the "voluntary" system really amounts to. In the circumstances, then, and considering how the system enables those more comfortably off to enthuse over the Empire and the glories of the Flag, while themselves escaping the worst consequences of Jingoism, one may be forgiven for asking—voluntary system or conscription: does it matter?

Soldiers and Trade Unionists.

In a report on the trade training of soldiers, approved by the Management Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions, we find the following. "Before definitely opposing the trade training of soldiers trade unions will have to consider the chances of successful opposition, and the effect of that opposition upon public opinion and upon themselves." (*Daily News*, 19.3.09.) The opinion strikingly shows how fallacious remains the ordinary trade unionist's understanding of the industrial system that dominates him, and how fatuous his present methods of defending himself. The outlook is essentially that of ever more impotent, would-be monopolisers of a skill that is becoming redundant rather than, as we would wish, men who have understood capitalism and who are prepared to unite, shoulder to shoulder against the common foe, with their fellow who is exchanging his red coat for the mechanic's grey shoddy. True, the civilian worker has cause to fear the competition of discharged soldier or sailor, for (illustrating the law of wages) the pension or reserve pay enables these latter to accept lower wages. But that is no reason for fighting them; rather it is a good reason for getting them organised. The Committee suggest as much when they say that if the unions oppose the ex-soldier's training and working, "his trade trading, even though imperfect, and his amenability to discipline, would be unscrupulously used by the strike breaker." Some may persuade themselves that the soldier is incapacitated by his service, and therefore does not count, but these forget that with the short service now becoming prevalent the ex-soldier does and will count. To all the workers, no matter of what origin or sex— even to the belated trade unionist—we must carry the message of Socialism.

H. A. YOUNG.
H. A. YOUNG.

R. J. Campbell and the King's Salary.

The sprightly inventor of the "New" Theology is nothing if not new in his "Socialism." Says he, "I don't object to the King: King Edward VII. is a very good worker in the State, and probably the first thing Socialists would do would be to raise his salary." (*Reynold's*, 28.2.09) Indeed! So the gentleman who recently declared his intention to drive materialism out of Socialism now feels called upon to arrange Edward's future. To us it seems that a self-respecting working class—one possessed of any sense of humour—cannot do better than deliver this bible-wrangling toady an Irishman's rise.

While we have only contempt for the Social-Democratic "immediate demand" for the abolition of the Monarchy, we still strongly suspect that a people who have secured peace and happiness by the establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community" will have but little use for kings and theologians, new or old.

"FREE" AND FORCED LABOUR.**CHINESE IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

ACCORDING to the "Board of Trade and Labour Gazette" for February there was a decrease during 1908 of 24,926 in the number of Chinese employed in the Transvaal. But it must not be thought that there has been a corresponding increase in the number of whites as was anticipated by those who clamoured so loudly for the "abolition of Chinese slavery and the employment of white labour in the Transvaal." The same authority says there has been an increase of 31,176 coloured labourers and an increase of only 1,560 whites! But we were told that the withdrawal of the Chinese from South Africa would spell ruin to the country, and that it would be impossible to profitably work the mines. However, what are the facts? The *Cosmopolitan Financier* for January says "South African shares are just ready for an all round rise. The industry is now in a sound condition as regards labour, economic working, capital and profits." Again, Mr. Leopold Albuin van Byn speech said he was "looking forward with absolute confidence to a continuous increase in the production of gold and in the profits from the mines, and would be greatly disappointed if, within the next five years, the production of the Rand had not reached £50,000,000 per annum, and the average working costs had not been reduced by a further 5s. to 12s. 6d. per ton." The reduction of cost is chiefly due to the labour-saving appliances and also to the supply of native labour." The saving, says another writer in the same journal, will be about £1,000,000 per annum. No wonder there is a rapid diminution in the number of Chinese employed.

It is well known that free labour is often far more profitable to employers than slave labour. Mr. Brassey in "Work and Wages" cites some interesting cases, and informs us on authority that prior to the emancipation of the slaves in Jamaica, 18 cwt. of sugar per acre was thought excellent, while under free labour it averaged 1 ton. He further attributes to the British Consul at Pernambuco a detailed statement of the comparative cost of work done by slave and free labour, which shows that sugar costing £4,251 to produce by slaves, would have cost only £1,080 by free labour. To further emphasize the point that free labourers, or slaves with the opportunity of earning their freedom, are more profitable than ordinary slaves, he says of some coffee-carriers in the Brazils, carrying bags of coffee weighing 2 to 3 cwt., that they worked with intense vigour in order to earn a sufficient sum to purchase their freedom, and generally succeeded in accumulating the amount in three or four years—an effort which too often broke their health. It was the knowledge of such facts as these that caused the abolition of chattel slavery, and not the sentimentalism of moralists and alleged Christians.

H. A. YOUNG.

THE COLLAPSE OF "DIRECT ACTION."

"INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM" is merely a pleasant name for Anarchism and "Direct Action." It is one of those almost inevitable elements of confusion and disorganisation which beset the working class in its advance. Every dog has its day, and every freak idea its boom, as though the workers were prepared to traverse every avenue of error before keeping steadily to the right road. The freak idea that the workers can, without the conquest of political power and by means of an industrial organisation alone, "take and hold" the means of life from the capitalists, is one that has just enjoyed its brief boom; but it is hollowness has been quickly seen, and its followers have in consequence been rapidly dropping away.

The Industrial Unionists of this country, being entirely unable to think out for themselves the adaptation of means to end that would be suitable to the situation here, hitherto blindly followed in the unsteady footsteps of that peculiarly American organisation, the Industrial Workers of the World, and have added to the gaiety of life by their ludicrous attempt at copying that organisation, from its structure even down to its slang. As things are going, however, the British Industrialists seem likely to be hard put to it for something to imitate; and what will their "Union" do then, poor thing?

The Industrial Workers of the World, of Chicago and elsewhere, goes from bad to worse. It still continues to propagate—by fission, for while the total number of members in all the I.W.W.s grows less and less, the number of distinct and warring I.W.W.s multiplies apace. This suggests the not impossible outcome that in the near future the few remaining adherents of that idea will be each a separate I.W.W. unto himself.

The General Confederation of Labour of France has also until now been a source of joy and inspiration to the Industrialists because of the theatrical policy of the Anarchist section which has hitherto controlled it. The English Industrialists, indeed, are fond of speaking of the Confédération Générale du Travail as though it were a homogeneous body, when, in reality, it is, as its name implies, a heterogeneous agglomeration of unions and federations, each with its own rules, scales of subscription, and the like and comprising almost all shades of political opinion. But with that fine contempt for democracy which characterises the Anarchists, they have, until recently, bossed the French labour organisation, notwithstanding that they are a minority of the membership. The "blessed word" of the Anarchists is "liberty," but not the liberty of the greatest number, for that was, on the basis of the monopoly by one class of the means of life, the enslavement, poverty and degradation of the other was inevitable. Anticipating a request (which, however, did not come) for authorities as to the poverty and so on existing, the speaker gave several, quoting to the amusement of the audience and the amazement of Mr. Urwin, Mr. Claude Lowther, President of the Anti-Socialist Union, who had said, after examining into modern conditions that he "found the workhouse the final goal of honest old age." He showed how universal was the curse of capitalism; that while fiscal and political forms differed and religious beliefs were many and varied, wherever, as under capitalism, the workers had to sell their labour-power, they were poor, and the masters—who robbed them—rich. Further, the anti-social form of society, reared upon the basis he had exposed, had brought us to the position of the "house divided against itself," where the class struggle raged and women were pitted against men in the labour-power market, and children against women. Thus was "family life" prostituted, the "home" broken up, and the nobility of "human nature" denied expression. Socialism, on the other hand, meant a social system based on the common ownership and democratic control of the means of life, and in the interest of the whole community, wherein production would be for use instead of for profit, and the essentials of life being assured to all, none could exploit his neighbour. Upon that basis alone could a society of free men and women exist, and a higher development, a fuller expression, a greater enjoyment of life be possible.

But now there are tears and curses in the Anarchist camp. Their candidates have been beaten, and by a majority which, though it appears small, represents in reality two-thirds of the membership. Niel, an opponent of the Anarchistic "Direct Action," has been elected secretary of the Confederation. The *Guesdist* organ, *Le Socialisme*, is naturally jubilant about it, and says "The Anarchist-Syndicalists, beaten twice by the election of Niel and of Thil, are again furious. The Confederal organisation was theirs. They thought it would endure for ever, but they did not notice that their brutal authoritarianism had ended by disgusting even their friends. They believed that their electoral system would ensure their preponderance for ever, but they have been compelled to admit that even such a fantastic system may turn against them. And their chagrin equals their fury. The coarse abuse which their organ, the *Révolution*, pours out upon the "blacklegs" and "traitors" who have elected Niel will complete their discredit in trade union circles."

It will be seen that with the decline of the "Direct Action" movement in France and

America the British Industrialists are in a sad plight. They are likely to be left entirely to their own mental resources, and the worst is to be feared for them. It is, indeed, inevitable that the neo-Anarchist movement should, in every country in which it appears, soon begin to fall to pieces of its own unsoundness and futility; while it is equally inevitable that the sound Socialist movement should, in every country on the globe, advance steadily and surely, even if slowly, step by step nearer to its triumph.

**DEBATE
WITH THE
ANTI-SOCIALIST UNION**

On Friday evening, March 12th—after some three months negotiations—the debate between representatives of the Socialist Party and the Anti-Socialist Union of Great Britain, took place at Tottenham. Mr. W. B. Farraday, who was to have championed the Anti-Socialists, was unable to attend, and Mr. Urwin took his place. Mr. Tomkins, of the "Tottenham Constitutional Union," occupied the chair, and on the platform were several speakers of the Anti-Socialist Union. Though only some five days were really available for advertising the meeting an audience of well over 700 packed the Hall. The subject of debate being "Socialism v. Capitalism," Comrade Anderson in opening defined those terms as denoting different phases in the historic and social development of Society, and said the purpose of the debate was to show which was now preferable. Then followed a well-reasoned, critical examination of modern conditions, clearly showing that capitalism had generated a "social problem" it could not solve; that, built, as it was, on the basis of the monopoly by one class of the means of life, the enslavement, poverty and degradation of the other was inevitable. Anticipating a request (which, however, did not come) for authorities as to the poverty and so on existing, the speaker gave several, quoting to the amusement of the audience and the amazement of Mr. Urwin, Mr. Claude Lowther, President of the Anti-Socialist Union, who had said, after examining into modern conditions that he "found the workhouse the final goal of honest old age." He showed how universal was the curse of capitalism; that while fiscal and political forms differed and religious beliefs were many and varied, wherever, as under capitalism, the workers had to sell their labour-power, they were poor, and the masters—who robbed them—rich. Further, the anti-social form of society, reared upon the basis he had exposed, had brought us to the position of the "house divided against itself," where the class struggle raged and women were pitted against men in the labour-power market, and children against women. Thus was "family life" prostituted, the "home" broken up, and the nobility of "human nature" denied expression. Socialism, on the other hand, meant a social system based on the common ownership and democratic control of the means of life, and in the interest of the whole community, wherein production would be for use instead of for profit, and the essentials of life being assured to all, none could exploit his neighbour. Upon that basis alone could a society of free men and women exist, and a higher development, a fuller expression, a greater enjoyment of life be possible.

Mr. Urwin apologised for Mr. Farraday's absence, and said that, having had only one day's notice of the meeting he had come somewhat unprepared. He then declined to answer a question Mr. Anderson had raised, declaring "I am here to defend capitalism as it stands." Yet he finished by saying "reform certainly is needed, but the way to effect it is not to pull the house down because a slate is off." He asserted that as in early tribal times people lived on fish and mud huts, under Socialism we would do the same, as we would only produce for use, and each would get only what the State considered necessary. In Germany the peasants had worked from early dawn 'till late at night for the bare necessities of life, and that was Socialism (laughter). It was said that labour produced all wealth, but it was labour aided by ability and capital that produced wealth, and capitalists took great risks. The means of production were in the hands of a few, and Socialism proposed to get rid of them, but Mr. Anderson had not said how. Was it to be by confiscation, by issuing bonds and then repudiating them, or by compensation? Socialism according to Marx was a policy of negotiation, and strife against all authority, and Socialists were creating a false impression among the workers that they were being unfairly treated. To-day they were free, they got wages and could spend them any way they pleased—under Socialism they would have to take whatever the State decided was for them. Claiming that England had grown great under capitalism, he finished with the plea for reform mentioned above.

Comrade Anderson now had a fifteen minutes reply. He at once seized upon Mr. Urwin's obvious contradiction involved in "defending capitalism as it stands" by appealing for its "reformation." Regarding early times and mud huts, he remarked that then no favoured few lived in palaces, but that all had mud huts, and under Socialism all would enjoy the plenty or otherwise that would then exist. He had not taken upon himself to guarantee all that would obtain under Socialism, but affirmed that Socialism guaranteed joint ownership in, and control of, the means of life. It was true he had not said how it was to come about, but that was not the question in debate, still he assured his friend that Socialists did not believe in compensation so-called, nor need it be confiscation really, but the simple process of restitution—the people taking to themselves that which had been stolen from them. Dealing with wealth production, he again accused his opponent of misquoting, and repeated that labour-power—physical and mental—applied to the natural resources of society, produced all wealth, including the portion that afterwards became capital. The ability came from the workers—all the capitalists took the plundered from the toilers. That Socialism was a policy of negotiation he denied being a Marrian statement—it was an anti-Socialist, an Anarchist one. With a reference to England's greatness he took up the plea for reform, arguing that as the house was beyond repair, it stood condemned as unfit, and therefore must give way to a better.

Mr. Urwin, replying, wanted to know who condemned the house. The only Socialist Party of Great Britain did not number 10,000, and was it going to bring about this great change? There was no need for Socialism as matters were improving in all directions. Regarding unemployment, any man who had ability and was willing to work could get work, only many were too lazy and preferred to walk the streets carrying unemployed banners (Interruptions during which Mr. Urwin resumed his seat). Proceeding, however, he still maintained his assertion and argued that it would be a mistake to throw over the present system for one that meant a return to serfdom and communism. His quotation from Marx was from a German publication not yet translated. (Laughter.) Twenty minutes were now devoted to the speakers questioning each other, and here Mr. Urwin seemed absolutely lost. He definitely declined to answer two questions, and the others he had better have left unanswered, while Comrade Anderson's replies were so prompt and effective that they not only delighted the audience, but seemed to mystify his opponent. That good work was done for Socialism may be gathered from the following words with which one of the leading North London weekly Conservative papers concluded its report:

"Mr. Anderson, representing the Socialists, laid his case before the audience in a most able manner, whilst Mr. Urwin did not seem at home with the subject. Possibly, Mr. Farraday, who was to have been the representative of the Anti-Socialist Union, would have presented the Union's case better and to greater advantage, and it was distinctly unfortunate for the Union that that gentleman was unable to attend. Mr. Urwin was at one time compelled to sit down owing to persistent interruptions from a small section of the audience. At the same time he created the impression that if the Anti-Socialist Union are to do any real good in their crusade against Socialism stronger speakers and debaters will have to be sent to present the case against Socialism."

A hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman closed the meeting. J. T. B.

JOTTINGS.

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SUMMING up in the case of the United County Theatres, Limited v. Musicians' Union and Bristol Trades Council, Mr. Justice Lawrence described the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, as "the most ill-drawn, impracticable, and ungrammatical Act of Parliament that he had ever come across," to quote from the contemporary Press. Yes indeed—and Belfast and other places have proved the futility of this *magnum opus* of the Labour Party in that peaceful persuasion has so often been made impossible during strikes, while now the unions cannot even issue hand-bills asking their fellow trade unionists to support them by refusing to deal with black-listed concerns. Is this Act another specimen of the "adaptability" of the Labour Party? They seem, in its construction, to have adapted themselves first-rate to the art of drawing up measures that are useless, thus proving their right to equal consideration with the old established parties in the eyes of all respectable people. * * *

But, of course, if they drew up an Act of real worth to the workers, it could not pass into law until such time as they acquired political power, or, at least, were becoming a real menace to the exploiting class. * * *

A. M. Thompson, the *Clarion* humorist, writing in the Taunton bye-election (Feb. 26th '09), alluded to Frank Smith "fighting as an avowed Socialist." The Labour Party Constitution states that candidates and members must "appear before the constituencies under the title of 'Labour Candidates only.' Is it merely ignorance or another example of the Thompsonian humour that allows him to misstate facts for the glory of what he terms Socialism? Mr. Peel sought the support of Moderate Liberals by labelling Mr. Smith a Socialist, and the *Manchester Guardian* (Feb. 20th, '09) said that the latter "is doing all that he can to combat Mr. Peel's assertions." The Executive of the Labour Party issued a strongly worded appeal to the electors of Taunton to "give Mr. Smith their support." Hardly Socialist credentials, these! * * *

Mr. Thompson also tells us that Mr. Smith "has polled more votes for Socialism than the Liberal candidate scored in 1900." Well, Dangle may think so, but when we read that the Liberal candidate at the general election telegraphed to Mr. Smith "Hope Liberals who voted for me in 1906 will support you, who stand firm for social reform, and show their hatred for Tariff Reform, re-action, and the arbitrary power exercised by the unrepresentative and plutocratic second chamber," and that "Mr. Chiozza Money advised any Liberals who are in doubt to vote for Mr. Smith, who stands for Free Trade and the building of social reform upon the basis of that system" (*Manchester Guardian*, Feb. 20th, '09), then, I think, we are justified in assuming that the votes cast for Mr. Smith are not even Labour (!) votes. * * *

Mr. Keir Hardie sent Mr. Smith a prayerful telegram as follows: "May God be good to his own to-day and send you to join us. We need you badly." I suppose the Labour Party will be known in future as "The Devil's Own," since Keir Hardie, as a now avowed believer in God, cannot but think that all that He does is for the best, and He would therefore reward His own in an electoral fight. From which I can only conclude that the Conservative Party is of the elect and the Labour Party of the rejected. * * *

Mr. G. N. Barnes, M.P., in moving—during the debate on the Address—an amendment relative to the unemployment "problem," said that "the House was on its trial." I thought its trial was over; that it had been convicted and the "Labour" members found "guilty" as "traitors to their class" by one who now (for a consideration—i.e., a salary) is trying to work the confidence trick a little longer along with those same "traitors to their class." Sentence

remains to be passed upon them by the workers at the next general election. Kismet! Bis-millah! 'Tis fate! * * *

The Suffragists had a "Self Denial Week" recently, in order to raise funds for their cause. Like most "denial weeks," however, the denial portion of the business was done by someone else, and the "selves" received the funds from the *weak*. They announced that in Manchester their members would act as matchvenders, flower-sellers, confectioners, orange-sellers, and organ-grinders. Thus the people who from necessity are compelled to eke out an existence as street vendors will suffer an encroachment upon one week's pence in order that the Suffragists may gather in the same. * * *

If they retort that the women affected would ultimately benefit by getting the vote, then I quote them Miss C. Pankhurst (June 1908):

"Our demand is the essentially moderate one that women occupying a position and filling responsibilities equal to those of a man voter shall be placed on the electorate."

"Many people are still under the impression that we claim the vote for every woman, but this is not the case." * * *

Let our women readers consider this a little. If the claim is made that the granting of a vote to a section of women would mean the extension of the franchise to *all* women, they are up against the fact that the partial granting of the franchise to men has not yet led to all men being enfranchised. If the possession of the vote is the solution to the economic evils that beset us to-day, how can it be accounted for that men possessing the vote fight like devils at the dock doors to get a few hours' work? If the Suffragists knew cookery the vote might be useful to them, because when "hubby" came home penniless from his search for work, they could either fry or boil it (the vote) and feed the family on it. No, the cause of our misery as workers lies in the fact that the few monopolise the means of life. Therefore unless our potential voters are brought to an understanding of this our class position, thus coming to realise the necessity of abolishing private ownership in the means of production, we should only make our work harder as Socialist propagandists by increasing the mass of non-class-conscious electors. With a majority of the present electorate understanding the Socialist position, adult suffrage would follow as a matter of course, or Socialism would fulfil its ideal as administration in the interests of *all* by *all*. * * *

The true nature of the present Suffrage agitation is further disclosed in a "special article" by an anonymous contributor in *Home Chat*, 9.1.09. This lady, who describes herself as a "householder and an income-tax payer," writing under the title "Why I am a Suffragist," says in the course of a brief article, "personally I am strongly in favour of giving the vote only to those women who have a property qualification, and so a stake in the State; but I feel exactly the same concerning manhood suffrage—that is to say, I think the vote is now given to many men who should not have it, because they have no stake in the State." Yet these people seek the support of our women of the working class, and indeed, with some small measure of success, being aided and abetted in this by the I.L.P., which is, you know, er—"Socialistic." * * *

W. C. Anderson, Parliamentary Labour candidate for Hyde, addressing a meeting of the Manchester branch of the Civil Service Socialist Society recently, was quite up to the standard one has come to look for in the Labour Party leaders. After quoting statistics to show how the condition of the working class is getting worse, he informed his audience that the "Socialistic legislation was the cause of any improvement." Wherein the "improvement" arose, and also how the "Socialistic legislation" had come into being with non-Socialists in power, were two points he failed to prove. * * *

"Everything," the candidate went on to assure his hearers, "was sacrificed to dividend

hunters. . . . The captains of industry were falling behind in the race" (for dividends). He (Mr. Anderson) supported public ownership as the solution to the poverty problem. I could only gather, therefore, from Mr. Anderson's statement that public ownership tended to take the place of the captains of industry, that the publicly owned concern had a greater exploiting capacity than a privately owned one, otherwise in a system of production for profit it could not make sufficient headway to leave privately owned ventures, like honesty, "last in the race." * * *

The intellectual treat continues. "The mass of the workers are landless, labourless, and propertyless in their own country." How they can be *landless* and *propertyless* in *their own country* I, for one, could not see. Perhaps it was a Scotch joke. After long years of what he calls "Socialistic legislation" we have the above result. Marvellous! * * *

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Justice of March 6th, '09, contained an article by G. Malton Bradford, in which we read "We are out for Socialism." And yet in the same issue objection is taken to a statement in the "Reformers' Year Book," to the effect that the S.D.P. oppose palliatives "on the ground that they are calculated to postpone the Social Revolution." So, then, a word can now be dispensed with, or one can be used interchangeably with another to express the same meaning. Socialism = palliatives; palliatives = Socialism. Then the S.P.G.B. is not a Socialist party, as it does not advocate palliatives, and cannot, on the above showing, advocate Socialism if Socialism = palliatives. * * *

Victor Grayson, speaking at Blackburn on Feb. 7th for the S.D.P., thanked that organisation for holding aloft the flag of Socialism and "refusing to change its colour." Grayson evidently credits the public with worse memories than they really have. If holding the flag of Socialism aloft and unstained be to act as the S.D.P. did at Battersea, Northampton, Burnley, Haggerston and other places I could name, then the S.P.G.B. can plead "not guilty." We may be told that the actions alluded to were actions of individuals, for which the whole party should not be condemned, but as the actions were taken by them in their capacity as public men, the Party, by condoning and not censuring such actions, stands condemned. * * *

"A party having any regard for its principles should surely look to it that its able men—those, therefore, most powerful for leading—should be straight, even more than the ordinary rank and file and hence, if they go wrong, should be the more inexorably expelled. A party that is worth its salt can always afford to lose a man or two without collapsing, but it cannot always afford to have a powerful leader inside incessantly pulling the wrong way. Here, again, we ask, is the object of the party to hold together for the sake of office, emoluments, or party tranquility, or for the sake of its avowed aims?" —"Factitious Unity," E. B. Bax. * * *

Your first about hits the nail on the head, Mr.

Bax. The fond hugging by the parent organisation of the many political prodigals and backsliders, habitual deviators from the straight and narrow path of set principles, justifies us in assuming that "party tranquility" is the object of the S.D.P., rather than "its avowed aims."

* * *

Grayson spoke of the "exotics" of Marx and the "ramblings" of Bax in his debate with Joynton-Hicks at Manchester last year. Seeing that Bax supports, and the S.D.P. believes in, the Marxian exotics, I wonder why he should praise them for their ramblings. But perhaps they are going to form a "Ramblers' Club"—one never knows.

JIM BROUH.

"FOR WHAT WE HAVE RECEIVED MAY THE LORD —"

THE Workmen's Compensation Act of 1907 has been, and probably will be, a favourite subject for the lectures of "reforming Socialists," in order to show the influence of "Socialism" in the measures passed by capitalist Governments.

Not long since one of these gentry was lecturing upon "what Socialism is, and what it is not." After showing that it is not "spoliation, confiscation, and the dissolution of all social and domestic ties," he proceeded to show what it is by pointing to the "bits" obtained by the moral and intellectual pressure brought to bear upon the Liberals by the "organised, disciplined, and determined Labour Party," and so on *ad nauseum*.

These "bits" of Socialism were the Trades Dispute Act, the Old Age Pensions Act, the Compensation Act, etc. The audience were implored to recognise the benefice of Socialism by recognising the benefice of these samples (!) of the whole. Needless to say, this position can be absolutely smashed from a Socialist point of view.

On the face of it we must recognise that (1) the Liberal Government had a majority powerful enough to withstand the pressure that the Labour Party might have brought to bear, (2) that they would not, being a capitalist party, pass any Act likely to benefit the working class, (3) that even if any measure were put upon the Statute Book, ostensibly as a reform, the certainty is that with a little scientific investigation into its nature and experience of its working, the truth would be evident that either it was a political "red herring," or something really beneficial to the class that passed it.

It is with the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1907, passed by the Liberals, for which the Labour Party claim the credit (save the mark), and which is hailed as a mighty instance of what Socialism is, that this article deals.

Previous to the passing of this Act the law relating to compensation to be paid when workmen were killed or injured, was regulated under two or three Employers' Liability Acts, all equally obscure in their meaning and limited in their scope.

It is an accepted fact that if any accident occurred and the case for compensation was fought in the courts, the only persons who reaped any benefit were the lawyers. The employers and insurance companies had to pay out costs and compensation if the case was decided against them; the workman or those acting on his behalf had to pay costs if they lost. The intricate meanings of the law were so obscure that only one thing was certain—the lawyer was always in at the end.

Still it was possible, particularly during the few years previous to the passing of the last Act, for a workman injured, or the relations of one killed during employment, to obtain a sum approaching substantial compensation for loss sustained.

But a change came over the face of affairs; a change that was hailed as a veritable Godsend to the halt, the lame, and the blind; to the widow and the fatherless child.

The Labour Party had so impressed the Liberals with their strength that they had passed this Act to satisfy their fierce hunger for reforms, and to stave off that evil time when the wolves of Labour, held in leash by Hender-

son, MacDonald and Co., would devour the capitalists.

This Act, we were told, was all-embracing, and simplicity itself in its workings, and made it an absolute certainty that the workman would receive compensation for injuries received. This we admit is true. There is no denying the fact that the law practically covers, with but few exceptions, all trades, and the same may be said of injuries and diseases. There is also no necessity for a long fight in the courts, with all its attendant worry and trouble.

On the face of things these appear to be substantial gains, but a closer examination from other standpoints, reveals the fact that even if the capitalists have given a sprat, it is only for the purpose of catching a mackerel.

Let us take in detail the case of each party affected by this Act. There are three—the workman, the employer, the insurance company.

Firstly the workman. Previous to the Act of 1907 the law regulating compensation was a "mystery deep and dark." So intricate, so contradictory, were its clauses, that it generally involved both parties in a fierce contest at law, and the result was, of course, dependent upon the sharp practice of the opposing counsels.

The party that could afford the sharpest generally won. Yet the workmen often obtained substantial damages—damages sufficient to cover the loss sustained. At present, the law being simplified, the necessity for fighting is practically abolished. The workman who is injured can obtain compensation in the form of half-wages, and if the injury extends beyond six months the employer can pay out a lump sum of an amount that will bring in 75 per cent. of the half wages, and so clear his liability. * * *

This is the maximum: the day of real compensation is gone. There is no need to fight now. Out of the generosity of his heart the capitalist gives half wages—half of what, in the majority of cases, is merely a bare subsistence.

In the event of a clear case of wilful negligence on the employer's part, the workman may still sue under the old law, and supposing he gains the day, even, the half wages is the maximum compensation he will obtain.

The net gain to the worker is the almost certain compensation (so far as it goes) with no trouble to obtain it by fighting in the courts. On the other hand, the amount is never in any case above half wages.

Secondly, the employer. In the old days the employer was not under the same necessity to insure, owing to the many avenues open to escape from compensation. To-day it is necessary for him to insure in almost every case. The cost of this is comparatively small, and having "hedged" the risk, the employer becomes absolutely carefree as regards accidents to his employees. He knows that in the event of such an exposure he will be liable to compensation. It is with the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1907, passed by the Liberals, for which the Labour Party claim the credit (save the mark), and which is hailed as a mighty instance of what Socialism is, that this article deals.

It is with the Workmen's Compensation Act of 1907, passed by the Liberals, for which the Labour Party claim the credit (save the mark), and which is hailed as a mighty instance of what Socialism is, that this article deals.

From the employer's point of view, then, although he is under the necessity of insuring more, he is able to reap a greater return, by the abolition of the responsibility of working his employees under conditions dangerous to life and limb.

Thirdly, the insurance companies. Under the old law the number of policies was infinitely smaller than at present, owing to the wider scope of the last Act. This is one substantial gain. Then the struggles in the courts involved a tremendous outlay of money by the companies. To-day the necessity of fighting claims is practically abolished, and the resulting economy is another substantial gain. Further, although the number of claims paid is, and will be, greater, yet the amount of compensation fixed by law is so small that companies will save a large amount of money in this direction also.

From the point of view of the insurance companies this Act has come as a boon and a blessing—they stand to win, anyway.

To take the three positions, then, we find the insurance companies gain all along the line. In fact one might say the Act was passed by the companies for the companies. The slight loss to the employer in one direction is much more than counterbalanced by his gains in another. He is able to rid himself of all liability

by the payment of a small sum, for the accidents resulting from the progressive "speeding up" made more and more necessary by the increasing competition in the industrial world to-day.

The workman gains the certainty of compensation, although in much reduced amount. But he also "gains" the considerably greater likelihood of injury or death, as the result of the increase of "hustling" methods. The Act has seriously diminished his opportunities of earning his daily bread in the day when his energies flag, his sight fails, his hair whitens. It is a fact that on every hand this Act has been answerable for the discharge of men who are rendered "unfit" by the new conditions imposed. In the mine and factory, on the railway, the building, and even on the sea, the difficulty of obtaining employment by those who are in any way handicapped physically, is getting greater day by day. The insurance companies can, and probably do, bring pressure to bear upon employers of labour so that they are forced to refuse work to those who are most likely to meet with accidents.

To sum up the whole matter, this Act was passed by the Liberal Government to serve the insurance companies, the employers of labour, and, beyond all, to delude the workers, through their so-called leaders, into the belief that they had given them a great and glorious dispensation that would help them in life's bitter struggle.

Yet this thing, this delusion, this snare, is pointed out by the reform-mongering crew as one of the "bits" of Socialism. One might almost paraphrase Madame Roland and say, "O Socialism, what frauds are perpetrated in thy name!"

The members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, schooled as they are in the principles of class-conscious, revolutionary Socialism, will always, fortunately, be able to open out and lay bare to the eyes of the workers these fraudulent reforms—born of the craft of the Liberal capitalists and the ignorance and knavery of their henchmen, the labour leaders. There is one thing certain—the workers will inevitably be forced, by bitter experience if by no other means, to recognise that their only hope lies in a revolutionary Socialist Party such as the S.P.G.B.

F. HESLEY.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Mr. B. Sansome, of East Finchley, sends us a 4 pp. leaflet entitled "Socialism: A Great Fraud." It purports to be an exposure of Socialist economic fallacies, but as the fallacies are largely the author's own the exposure is more amusing than instructive. In a letter sent with the leaflet our correspondent says that he has already sent it to the *Clarion, Labour Leader, Justice*, etc., but those "Socialist" papers were too cowardly to consider it. Mr. Sansome's ability to "expose" Socialism may be gauged from the fact that he considers the above named papers Socialist ones, while in his "exposure" he quotes the Liberal M.P. Chiozza Money, the new theologian R. J. Campbell, the imperialistic, jingo S.D.P. representative, F. G. Jones, and Victor Grayson of the Labour Party as Socialist authorities! After that, anything! Mr. Sansome has spoken. Selah!

THE BISHOP OF L

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 F. Joy	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker	H. Newman
Chelsea, World's End	11.30 E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe	F. Joy	F. Joy
Earlsfield, Penwith Road	11.30 J. E. Roe	F. Joy	P. Dumenil	E. Fairbrother
Clapham Common	3.30 T. W. Allen	H. Newman	A. Reginald	T. W. Allen
Finsbury Park	3.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. C. Watts
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. E. Dawkins	J. Kennett
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen	J. H. Halls	J. Fitzgerald
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. H. Halls	E. Fairbrother	A. Barker	F. Joy
"	7.30 F. Joy	A. W. Pearson	F. C. Watts	F. Joy
Tottenham, West Green Crn.	11.30 A. Anderson	R. H. Kent	T. W. Allen	F. E. Dawkins
"	7.30 R. H. Kent	A. Anderson	H. Newman	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 J. Crump	F. W. Stearn	R. H. Kent	J. H. Halls
"	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Crump	A. W. Pearson	F. W. Stearn

MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Penwith Road, 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Paddington, Albert St., 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.00. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.**ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.****RECEIVED—**

- " Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- " Weekly People" (New York)
- " Evening Call" (New York)
- " Labor" (St. Louis.)
- " The Keel" (Tyneside.)
- " Gaelic American" (New York.)
- " Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago.)
- " Western Wage-Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)
- " The Flame," (Broken Hill.)

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107, CHARLOTTE ST., FITZROY SQ., W.C.

—o:—

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AT 10 A.M.

PUBLIC ADMITTED.

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18th.—Socialism and the Worker J. Crump

25th.—Socialism and Race Culture R. H. Kent

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BURNLEY.—J. R. Tomlinson, Sec., 10, Morley St., Burnley Wood, Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament Street.

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TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m. at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at the Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

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**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.****OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—o:—

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

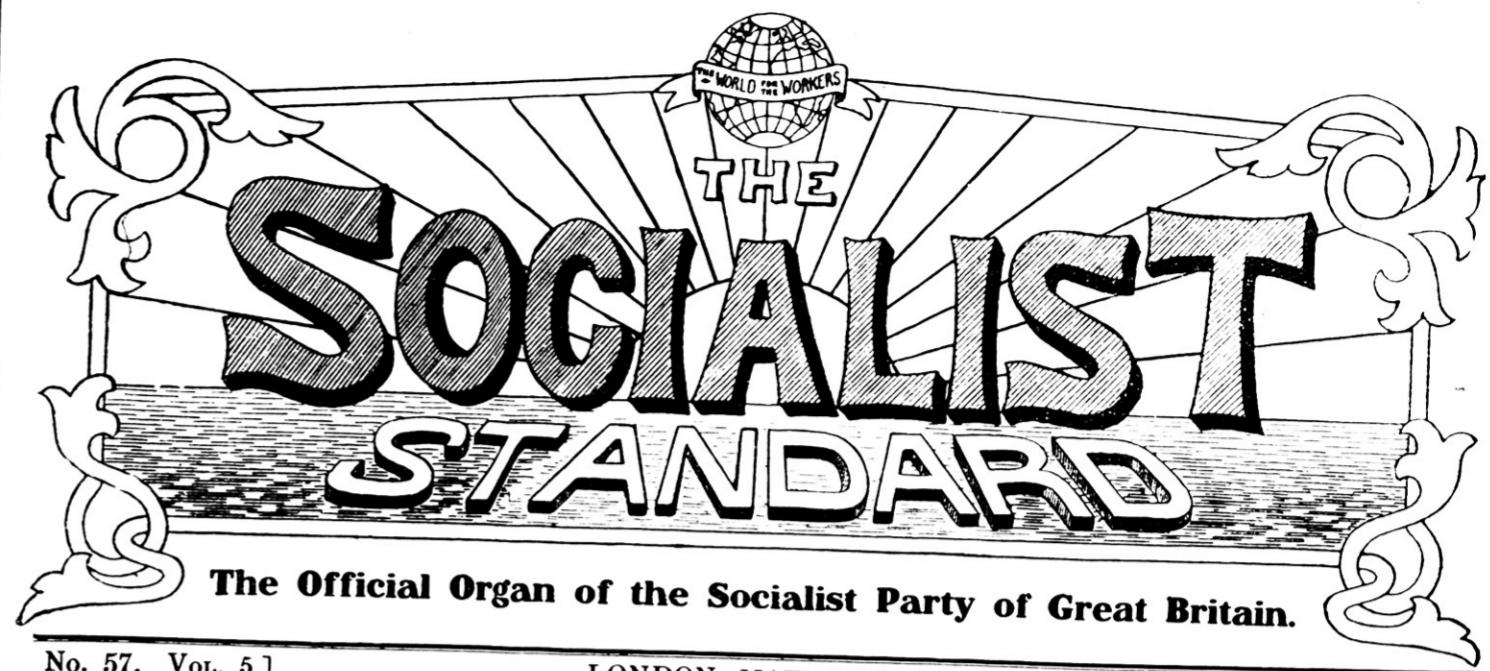
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Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 57. VOL. 5.]

LONDON, MAY, 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

WHY THIS RESIGNATION? THE I.L.P. AND ITS LEADERS.

THERE is great to do in the land. The papers—particularly the Liberal papers—are discussing the "grave situation," the "crisis reached." Is there another "Patten ring" or "wheat corner"? Nothing so desperate—scarcely a storm in a teacup; but, as shall see, it is to the interest of certain individuals and a certain Party to make it appear important.

Four prominent members of the I.L.P. have resigned from the National Administrative Council to which they were just elected. They are J. Keir Hardie, J. Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden and Bruce Glasier. The first three were elected by large majorities. Then why have they resigned? Being no confident of any of the parties named I cannot claim to have "inside information," but the information at the disposal of the "outsider" is quite sufficient to give the answer.

On the surface the reason given was the referring back of certain paragraphs in the N.A.C. Report dealing with Grayson's position as an official lecturer for the I.L.P. Grayson protested that the "paragraphs were entirely unjust and wrongly coloured," and it was decided after discussion to refer the paragraphs back by 217 votes to 194. This occurred on Monday.

On Tuesday the Chairman (J. R. MacDonald) stated that "they (the N.A.C.) had had a trying time for the last twelve months owing to the growth of a movement of irresponsibility in the Party. It was an impossibility movement unfair to the Parliamentary members of the Party," (*Labour Leader*, April 16), and after referring to the matter of the paragraphs, said the above four members had decided to resign from the N.A.C. and fight the matter from the rank and file.

After long discussion a resolution endorsing the policy of the N.A.C. and expressing confidence in the four members concerned, and requesting the withdrawal of their resignations was carried almost unanimously.

Victor Grayson had departed the day previous. Keir Hardie now indulged in personalities that are rather incongruous with his virtuous indignation at our "abuse" when we tell the awkward truth about him. He said "self-respect demanded that a stand should be made. He valued the opinion expressed by the conference. He would like it sent down to all the branches, especially to those where there was that small, snarling, semi-disruptive element" (*Labour Leader*). However, the quartette decided to adhere to their resignations.

Of course, they have since issued a manifesto. So has Grayson. The latter, of course, views the thing almost, if not entirely, as a personal matter between himself and the "four." Still he maintains his position *re* the paragraphs, and it is significant that no real answer has been attempted. Even the toadying apologist for the N.A.C., W. Stewart, can only deal with it from the personal

standpoint. He says (*Clarion*, April 16) "The N.A.C. had after a certain date in last November, refused to organise meetings under their auspices for Victor Grayson. And in this report they explained why. Grayson challenged the accuracy of the explanation. The conference, which only an hour before had re-elected the very members responsible for that explanation, now accepted Grayson's view in preference to that of their newly appointed representatives. The situation had become intolerable. They had no alternative but to resign." There is no attempt to show the N.A.C. had even tried to refute Grayson.

The "Big Four" in their manifesto say that a section of "Socialist opinion" has been growing up whose attitude "can best be illustrated by a quotation from a recently published essay entitled 'The Problem of Parliament,' by Grayson and Taylor," part of which follows: "The basis of the Socialist Party must be the I.L.P., S.D.F., the Clarion Scouts, and, if it can be brought to the point of making up its political mind, the Fabian Society."

"Two things," say the quartette, "stand out in this official" (why official?) "pronouncement, ist, that the trade unions, which are the only expression of genuine class consciousness, the workers of Great Britain have hitherto evolved, are to be rigidly excluded from the new party; 2nd, that this new Socialist Party is not to concern itself with the advancement of labour." (*Labour Leader*, April 16.)

From which it seems that at last the "Big Four" agree with us, first, that class consciousness is the essential of a Socialist party, and secondly, that the I.L.P., S.D.F., Fabian Society, Clarion Scouts, etc., are not class conscious and therefore cannot be Socialist. How often have they called us names for saying exactly the same thing! and now, they the favoured and petted, tell the rank and file of the I.L.P. that we were correct, and their's is not a Socialist organisation!

The statement as applied to trade unions, of course, is utterly incorrect. Moreover, to say that this movement has grown up laudably is to say what is not true. Ever since the "Fourth Clause" wrangle there has been a section in the I.L.P. opp to some, at least, of the tactics of the official clique. Russell Smart, in his letter to the *Labour Leader* (23.4.09), once more nearly gives the game away, although he repeats the stupid statement *re* a movement "growing up." He says "There has arisen in the movement a revolt which has nothing whatever to do with the personalities of our leaders or the principles of the Party. . . . It is directed against the cabinet or caucus system which enables a few clever men to have complete control of the coach and drive the passengers where the leaders please."

Further on he says "For the last few years the Junta pursued a policy which had steadily

and stealthily deprived the branches of their autonomy and increased the power of the centre. The caucus had control of every wire. The exchequer was in its hands; it selected the constituencies to be fought; it decided who were to be the candidates. We were not allowed to contest, even when the Labour Party had declined to fight, and we ourselves found all the money. Even now we cannot work or vote for a Socialist candidate if the organisation responsible is not affiliated to the Labour Party.

"But with themselves it is another matter. In all their political work they claim unrestricted liberty, passive obedience from the rank and file. It would be scarcely credited by our Continental comrades that they (the Junta) make no attempt to present a Parliamentary report or discuss the past Parliamentary actions of the M.P.s."

In support of this it may be noted that Keir Hardie said at the Conference, "If the Labour Party was to be saved from ruin the last word respecting three-cornered contests must rest with the Executive."

To get at the root of the matter we must clear the ground of some of the supposed explanations that block the way. W. Stewart in his report says it is the principle of the Labour Alliance that is involved. The absurdity of this statement is shown by the fact that only 8 votes were cast against the Alliance (of I.L.P. and L.P.) to 378 for it. It cannot be fear of Grayson personally, as the Conference almost unanimously passed a vote of confidence in the "Big Four" and even reinstated the paragraphs over which the squabble took place. The inadequacy of the statement in their manifesto is given above.

What remains? First some significant voting at the Conference, in which a respectable minority voted against the official clique every time. Now take a fact or two outside the Conference. As we have proved in our Manifesto and organ (March '06) there exists an arrangement between the leaders of the I.L.P. and L.P. and the Liberal Party, whereby seats are not only left open for Labour candidates, but active Liberal support is to be given them. The kicking over the traces by those outside the arrangement, as at Colne Valley, Newcastle, etc., has called forth indignant protests from the Liberal Press, who declare the uselessness of bargaining with leaders who cannot make their followers keep their compacts. Then happens the greatest fiasco the Labour movement has ever seen in the Croydon election, where the "sane" and "safe" man, Frank Smith, assisted by all the "big guns," adopted by the Labour Party, running as "Labour" candidate, in favour of "Right to Work" Bill, Taxation of Land Values, Free Trade, etc., and reviving all doubts as to his orthodoxy by stating in his election address "My years of service as a commissioner of the Salvation Army make it useless to denounce me as an Atheist and

[CONTINUED FROM MARCH ISSUE.]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

8. ECONOMIC CRISES (continued).

We have explained at the beginning of this chapter that under the domination of large industry, industrial capital comes always to the fore and increasingly dominates capitalist production. Within capitalist industry itself, however, special branches of industry become the leading ones, particularly the textile and iron industries. If one of them receives a special impetus, as for instance by the opening up of a new extensive market, like China, or by the sudden taking in hand of the construction of a large railway line, for example in America, that particular branch of industry does not only expand, but it communicates the impetus thus received immediately to the entire economic structure of society. The capitalists extend their concerns, establish new ones, and thus increase the use of raw material and accessories; new workers are engaged, while at the same time ground-rents, profits and wages rise. The demand for various commodities increases, while different industries begin to participate in the economic improvement, which ultimately becomes a general one. Then every undertaking seems bound to succeed, confidence is blindly bestowed and unlimited credit given; anybody possessed of money endeavours to invest it profitably, and everyone participating in interest and profit, which are rapidly rising, seeks to transform some of it into capital. At such periods a general state of elation prevails.

In the meantime production has grown enormously and the increased demand of the market has been satisfied; yet production continues. One capitalist knows nothing of the other, and even if the one or the other of them in sober moments has misgivings, these are stifled by the necessity of utilising the fluctuations of the market and of keeping pace with competition. The hindmost is severely bitten. To dispose of the additionally produced commodities becomes an increasingly difficult and slower process; the stock-rooms of the warehouses become full, but the ecstasy caused by the spell of prosperity continues. Then comes the time that one of the commercial houses is to pay for the goods which it had purchased months before from the manufacturer on credit. The goods are still unsold; it possesses the goods but not the money; it cannot fulfil its obligations; it goes bankrupt. But the manufacturer, too, has to discharge his financial responsibilities: as his debtors cannot pay, he too must fail. One bankruptcy succeeds another. A general panic ensues; the previous blind confidence is superseded by distrust quite as blind; the panic spreads in all directions, causing financial ruin everywhere.

The entire economic foundation of society is profoundly shaken. Every undertaking which is not firmly established collapses. Not only the fraudulent undertakings are ruined, but also all those which at ordinary times have just managed to keep above water; during periods of crisis the expropriation of peasants, handcraftsmen and small capitalists proceeds at a more rapid rate than at other times. But also many a large capitalist fails, and no one is certain of escaping ruin in the general collapse. And those among the large capitalists who happen to survive, participate liberally in the spoil; during periods of crisis not only the expropriation of "small men," but also the concentration of concerns into fewer hands and the extension of large fortunes proceeds more easily than at other times.

But no one knows whether he will survive the crisis; and while it lasts, and until such time as commerce has again to some extent assumed its ordinary aspect, all the terrors of the present method of production are prevailing to an extreme degree; insecurity, want, prostitution and crime increase. The ushers starve or freeze to death, because they have produced too much food, clothing and shelter. Then it is demonstrated most vividly, that the present productive forces are becoming less and less compatible with commodity production, and that the private ownership of the means of production become an ever greater curse, above all for the propertyless, but ultimately also for many of the propertied class.

Some economists expect that Combines will bring about the abolition of crises. Nothing is more erroneous than such a view.

The regulation of production by the Combines presupposes, above all, that they embrace all the important branches of production and are built up on an international basis, that is to say, that they extend over all the countries where the capitalist mode of production prevails. Until now there does not exist a single completely international Combine in any one branch of industry, which could be taken as a criterion of the entire economic structure of society. International Combines are most difficult to establish and as difficult to maintain. Marx already remarked some fifty years ago, that not only competition created monopoly, but monopoly created competition. The larger the profit derived by a number of firms from a Combine, the greater the danger of a powerful outside capitalist endeavouring to deprive them of these profits by establishing a competitive concern.

The Combines and Trusts themselves become the object and cause of commercial speculations. They constitute the highest form of Joint Stock proprietorship, and admittedly make it possible to carry swindling to its very extreme. While the era of swindling from 1871 to 1873 was an era of Joint Stock Companies, the latest era of swindling, viz., from 1899 to 1900, was an era of establishing Combines and Trusts, particularly in the United States. Combines as a rule fail in preventing over production. Their main object with regard to over-production does not

consist of preventing it, but of transferring its consequence from the capitalists to the workers and consumers. They exist for the purpose of assisting the large capitalists in living through crises, by restricting production at certain times and discharging workmen, etc., without, however, interfering with profits. But let us suppose the improbable happens, namely, that within a certain period it would be possible to organise the large world-industries in Combines internationally and rigidly disciplined. What would be the consequence? Competition among the capitalists in the same branch of industry would thereby, even in the most favourable case, be abolished only in one direction. It would here lead us too far to inquire into the consequences which must arise from the remaining sides of competition. But one point may here be considered, namely,—the more the competition among the different owners of concerns in the same branch of industry disappears, the greater becomes the contest between them and the owners of concerns in those other branches of industry dependent upon their goods. While the struggle between the individual producers in the same industry ceases, the struggle between producers—the latter word taken in its widest sense—becomes more acute. In this sense each producer is consumer, the cotton spinner, for instance, apart from his personal consumption, is consumer of cotton, coals, machines, oil, etc. The whole capitalist class would then no longer be divided into single individuals, but into sections fighting one another most bitterly.

To-day each capitalist endeavours to produce as much as possible and to put on the market as many commodities as possible; because the more commodities there are the more profit, under otherwise equal conditions. His production is limited only by the calculation of the possible absorption by the market and, of course, by the extent of his capital. But in the event of Combines becoming general we should not get regulated production and thereby a cessation of crises, as some illusionists tell us, but we might find that it would be the aim of each Combine to produce as little as possible, for the smaller the amount of commodities the higher the prices. The old practice of merchants at periods of a glut in the market, of destroying a portion of the existing commodities, in order to obtain a profitable price for the remainder, would then become general practice. It is clear that under such conditions society cannot exist. While each Combine aims at under-production, it has on the other hand to force the other combines, whose commodities it requires, into over-production. There are many ways to effect that. The simplest one is to restrict its consumption more than the other Combine is restricting its own. Another way is to call science into play in order to create substitutes for the commodities whose production has been restricted. A third way is for the consumers concerned themselves to produce what they require.

Let us suppose that the copper-mines form a Combine, restrict the production of copper, and force up its price. What would be the consequence? Of the industrial capitalists in whose concerns copper is used in production, some would close their factories until more prosperous times, a few would endeavour to use other metals in place of copper, while others again would themselves acquire or start copper mines, in order to become independent of the copper ring. In the end the Combine would burst—go bankrupt, that is to say there would be a crisis. Should that not be the case, the under-production of the Combine would call forth an artificial restriction of production—that is to say, also a crisis—in those branches of industry which consume the products of the Combine as raw material or as tools, etc.

The Combines, therefore, do not get rid of crises. If they were to succeed in that respect it could only be that the crises would assume a different form—but not a better one. Bankruptcies would not cease, the only difference being that they would become more extensive and not merely affect single capitalists, but entire sections of them. Combines cannot abolish crises, but are able to produce some of a far more disastrous character than anything we have hitherto witnessed.

Only when all Combines would be merged into one so as embracing that the entire means of production of all the capitalist nations were contained therein, that is to say, only when private property in the means of production had been practically abolished would it be possible to do away with crises by means of Combines. On the other hand crises are inevitable from a certain point of economic development so long as private property in the means of production prevails. It is, therefore, not possible to proceed one-sidedly and to do away with only the harmful effects of private property while permitting the private property itself to continue.

[To be continued.]

"Why These Resignations?"—continued.

“An enemy of family life,” polled only 886 votes where “Labour” had polled 4,007 in 1906! All the statesmanship and explanations of the leaders of the Labour Party still leave this the most severe collapse of a “Labour” vote in the history of the movement. And, what is more, still leave it the unmistakable sign of the utter failure of their machinations, the emphatic condemnation of their policy.

Things begin to look ominous. Evidently the Labour Party by itself is powerless to hold a constituency or the votes therein. Present seats are insecure, even with Liberal aid—without, their loss is certain. Hence their occupants must take drastic action—they resign the N.A.C. Victor Grayson is a convenient excuse for bullying the rank and file into allowing their leaders to make what compacts with the Liberals they please, and to abide by them when made. His vague reference to forming a new party strengthens the hands of the official clique, who will brand as “wreckers” all who oppose their bossing the I.L.P. Russell Smart is aware of this, but has his own arrangements to make.

Meanwhile we go on with our work of propagating the principles of Socialism, quite sure that in the fullness of time the temporary victory of the “Big Four” must bring grist to our mill, as does each new instance of the treachery of those who claim to “lead” the working class to victory.

J. FITZGERALD.

AN ENGLISHMAN'S HOME.

If we were to give from the pages of “Capital” one of the reports presented by the poor law officers as depicting the terrible conditions under which a portion of the working class eke out an existence, we should immediately be told that the report was given forty or fifty years ago, and that since then things have changed very considerably; that the position of the working class has been vastly improved, while housing accommodation and sanitary conditions are far superior to what they were then. And yet in the salubrious neighbourhood of Finsbury Park, situated in “merrie” Islington, we have slums which were described by one of the poor law officials as a “disgrace to civilisation.” The following is an extract from the report presented by Dr. Bulger, Medical Officer of Health, on the state of “furnished rooms” in Campbell Road, before the Islington Board of Guardians in April of the current year.

The officer says the “furnished” rooms in Campbell Road can be divided into the following classes: (1) clean, (2) dirty, (3) filthy and verminous. “In all classes the furniture consists of a broken chair, a broken table, and a straw mattress on an old iron bedstead.” In some rooms the mattress is dirty and verminous, and, unfortunately, it has been my misfortune to have attended some confinements under such conditions. . . . In some cases there is not room to stand between the bed and the wall, and in my opinion the washhouses should not be let as furnished rooms. In none of the furnished rooms can I see the ordinary utensils necessary for a bedroom. . . . In many rooms there is serious overcrowding, and in many cases danger to life and limbs in going up and down the awful stairs. For instance, No.—, as seen to-day, is a disgrace not only to the parish of Islington, but to civilisation. I should advise the Guardians to see it as it is now, but beware of the stairs.”

Mr. Edmonds, the Superintending Relieving Officer, also reported and gave the following figures: “(a) Front room; eight persons and a dead child; oldest girl eighteen years of age. (b) First floor back; (in July 1908) nine persons. (c) Top front; nine persons (left). (d) Top front; seven persons, wife about to be confined. (e) Top back; six persons, wife about to be confined.”

And yet we are told that some of the “homes” consisting of a “broken chair, a broken table, and a straw mattress on an old iron bedstead” were clean! But it is such conditions as these that beggar drunkenness. Can we wonder at these people flocking to the brilliantly lit and cheerful looking gin palaces in preference to staying in the hellish surroundings of their hovels?

And what will the authorities do? The most they can do is to condemn the property. The inhabitants will probably be turned out, only to go further afield to again live nine or ten in a room, with their broken chair and table, and straw mattress on an old iron bedstead—their poverty preventing them from improving their condition by seeking larger and better housing accommodation, while unemployment, now admitted by the Poor Law Committee in the majority report, to be inherent in the present system of society, continues to drive the workers down to these vile conditions.

And what remedy have the board of Guardians, or any of the political parties outside the Socialist Party, for this terrible state of things? Absolutely none! Poverty and unemployment are due to private ownership in the means of life and will continue until the workers organise on the basis of the class struggle, seize control of the political machinery and wield it in their own interest. The only organisation that is working consistently and uncompromisingly toward that end, never having deviated from that course, is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, whose object is the emancipation of the working class from wage-slavery by the establishment of a system of society based on the common ownership of the means of life. This only can abolish unemployment and poverty, and all their concomitant evils.

H. A. YOUNG.

ECONOMIC LIBERTY versus POLITICAL POWER.

Below we append a letter received from a correspondent bringing forward the above point for answer.

We read in “Economics of Labour” (H. Quelch) p 10, “attempts to secure political power without economic freedom meet with but sorry success,” and earlier in the same book (p 4) “it may not be impossible to secure economic liberty by the exercise of a mere shadow of political power which is possible in a state of economic dependence, but it is certain that this shadow of political power has frequently effected nothing in the way of economic liberty, while it is equally certain that men have never long possessed economic freedom without effectively freeing themselves from all political, social or religious disabilities.”

Now it seems to me, to free ourselves from the slavery we are in, necessary to first secure Economic liberty rather than exercise our “shadow of political power” in the hope of gaining freedom. I don’t suppose you agree with this, hence in troubling the trouble to write upon the matter, yet I will be obliged to you if you will please state your view of the points at issue.—Yours etc.

J. EDWIN GARVEY.

Obviously it is no task of ours to defend or even explain what Mr. Quelch may have said in “Economics of Labour,” but on the face of it the statements will not bear the interpretation placed upon them by Mr. Garvey. We will, however, take his own assertion first, namely, that “to free ourselves from the slavery we are in” it is “necessary to first secure economic liberty rather than exercise our ‘shadow of political power.’” The rejoinder to this is so clear that one wonders how Mr. Garvey missed it; for at once the query arises, “how are you going to obtain this economic liberty?” Unfortunately we are not informed, and here we might leave the matter if it were only a question of meeting Mr. Garvey’s statement. But many members of the working class are confused over the question of “economic” and “political” power, and the confusion is further spread by the superficial, anarchistic propagandists of so-called Industrial Unionism.

A slight examination suffices to show the essentials of the matter, and to completely meet the objections these people raise against political action.

It is generally stated that the capitalist class rule because they have possession of the means of life—the land, factories, machinery, railways, etc., which are indispensable for the production of material necessities. This is true so far, but it does not complete the statement. On the land are notice boards warning trespassers that they will be prosecuted; over the factory doors is the legend “No admittance except on business”; in the stores and warehouses we are reminded that to take any article is called stealing, the punishment for which is prison. Numerically the working class vastly outnumber the capitalist class—according to one writer they are 38,000,000 out of the 4,000,000 persons in the United Kingdom. Evidently, then, it is not the superior power of the capitalists as individuals that enables them to retain possession of the means of life. Neither can it be claimed that the notice boards could, of themselves, prevent a person going upon the land, entering a factory, or taking an article out of a shop. And this quite apart from the fact that even to-day a certain number of the workers cannot read, and notice boards would be useless so far as they are concerned, unless they were told what was written thereon. Whence then the control by the capitalists? How do they remain in the position of dominators? The answer supplies the key to the problem of working-class action.

When an individual trespasses upon land or factory, or takes a loaf of bread from a shop without payment, the force known as the police is put into motion, and the offender is hauled before a magistrate and dealt with according to law—said law having been devised beforehand to meet such cases in a way we shall presently refer to. If a number of persons too large for the police to handle indulge in these “lawless” acts, or come out on strike against their employers and start demonstrating in a

manner to arouse capitalist fear, then the army (as at Belfast and Featherstone) and the navy (as at Hull and Grimsby) are called upon to protect the capitalists and their property, and keep the workers in subjection. So it is by the control of these forces—and in the ultimate by these alone—that the capitalists are able to maintain their economic domination. The “economic supremacy” of the capitalist class would be an empty phrase without the power to enforce their ruling. Obviously, then, the working class must obtain control of these forces before they can free themselves from wage-slavery—before they can enjoy economic liberty. How are they to do this?

The forces mentioned are maintained out of revenue taken by Parliament, which, at the present stage of development can, and does, use this very force to obtain the revenue. Thus it is seen that it is by controlling Parliament that the working class must get control of the fighting forces so as to use these for their own emancipation. This brings us to the point of “political power.” Have the workers this power? The answer is yes. The quotation from Quelch puts the matter even more strongly, for he says “it may not be impossible to secure economic liberty by the exercise of a mere shadow of political power which is possible in a state of economic dependence.” The workers to-day have far more than “a shadow” of political power. They possess an overwhelming majority of the votes and it is these working-class votes that return the capitalists and their representatives into control of Parliament and thereby the continuance of the capitalists’ domination. The second portion of the quotation stating “that men have never long possessed economic freedom without effectively freeing themselves from all political, social or religious disabilities” is misleading to one who has not studied the rise of capitalism. The capitalist class did not achieve economic freedom in the full sense of the term ‘till they had obtained political control. Before obtaining political power they were subject to King and nobles. Their only “freedom” was freedom to carry on trade and commerce under strict and often very harsh conditions, with the payment of various dues and charges. The severe oppression suffered by the Jews in the middle ages, when economically and financially they occupied a high position, shows how little economic possession is worth in the absence of the power to control its products.

What has to be noticed is that those who were in economic possession—but not control—soon became conscious of their general interests and used every effort to obtain that political power necessary for domination or emancipation. Thus through the later stages of Feudalism we find a continued and increasing struggle on the part of the bourgeoisie for, first a share in, and then the control of, Parliament, the struggle ending in the victory—in the main—of the bourgeoisie in the Civil War of 1642-49. Not until then were they “economically free.”

To-day the working class are largely unconscious of what constitutes their own interests. They are thus easily misled by the paid agents of the capitalist class to use the political power they possess against the real interests of the working class. While they are in this state of mind or education “attempts to secure” or enlarge “political power” must of necessity “meet with sorry success” from the point of view of their own advancement.

This, of course, is an answer to the Radical politicians who imagine, or seem to imagine, that it only needs the extension of political power for the millennium to arrive even while the workers are ignorant of their class interests. equally fallacious is the anarchist teaching that the workers should avoid and oppose political action and secure economic liberty first, without attempting to explain how this is to be done. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, draws attention to past history and present circumstances to show how the ruling classes have maintained their position of dominance. From these facts the impregnable position is taken up that it is only by the exercise of its “political power” that the working class will secure “economic liberty.”

J. F.

The Socialist Standard is a tongue to the dumb propagandist. Push it along.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,

SATURDAY, MAY 1, 1909.

May-Day.

The First of May is round once again, but, unfortunately, the wage-workers are not yet ready for that great demonstration which shall demonstrate, not the workers' disunion and lack of class consciousness, as do those of to-day, but their irresistible might and determination to strike, once and for all, the shackles from off their limbs, and to annihilate the oppressor. However, with May come some sunny days, the tender freshness of young leaves and—the outdoor propaganda season in full swing. Verily, Spring is a mighty ally of Hope, and your true Socialist, while rarely forgetting the ever-present horrors of capitalism, appreciates no less than his as yet non-Socialist fellow, the brightening ray and thrill of nature newly waken'd. To us its chief meaning is renewed opportunity for work in order that next May-day may see us measurably nearer our goal; well on the way toward our demonstration—the only one worthy of working-class attention, the Social Revolution.

The S.P.G.B. and the Invasion Scare.

"What's bred in the bone will come out in the flesh" is a true proverb, and there is nothing that better illustrates the soundness of our position, and shows more clearly the reasoned, scientific groundwork of our principles, than our immunity from the panics that to-day afflict the body social and politic. From the high Tory down all the different grades of capitalist parties, including, of course, the I.L.P., S.D.P., and the "Clarionettes", there is at present running a series of militarist and anti-militarist thrills.

From the altars of the imperialist Tory and Liberal and the "Socialist" S.D.P., we are always sure of seeing the incense rise to the great god Jingo. From the motley group of arbitrationists who, although always running amock with their own particular fads, take good care to preserve intact the death-dealing wage-slavery of capitalism, we are sure of getting the usual amount of sentimental balderdash about "human brotherhood."

Let us look at the more important alleged Socialist organisations, the I.L.P. and S.D.P.

From the former, composed as it is of Christians, ethicists, Anti-Vaccinators, Anti-Vivisectionists, Humanitarians, and sentimentalists generally, we expect and get the usual outcry against "war."

The S.P.G.B. denounces war, but with what different reasons we support our denunciation!

The I.L.P. is animated by a sickly sentimentalism that is innocent of any clear conception of what war is and how it can be ended.

Their campaign upon the political field is one with that of the Labour Party, which is one with the Liberal Party. The latter is opposed to the Tories who are in favour of warlike preparations of an extreme type. Therefore the Liberals are opposed to the Tory policy, the Labourites follow suite, and the I.L.P. signify the same in the usual manner. Take an aver-

age Liberal opposition to jingoism, savour with I.L.P. sentimentalism, and the article is complete. From the lack of class consciousness, from the lack of a clear understanding of economic forces, from the lack of a definite purpose in politics, arises the panicky anti-jingoism of the I.L.P.

Then we take the S.D.P., and oh! what a difference we see. The S.D.P. never have ought to do with Liberals. Burrows of Haggerston, Irving of Burnley, Watts of Dulwich, answer NO! They are not sentimental; they are scientific Marxists when the people want scientific Marxism, but when they do not, well, the S.D.P. are always willing to oblige (*vide Justice*, April 18th, p. 6, col. 2).

Lastly, but not least, have we not the ripe knowledge of foreign affairs that only Hyndman can impart? Hyndman, who has been the unseen directing force of many a puzzled Foreign Secretary of State!

As a result we have the S.D.P. thinking and saying as do H. M. H. and Quelch. We include Quelch because in foreign affairs Harry thinks as H. M. H. does, and H. M. H. thinks as Harry does in home affairs and so returns the compliment. The result is and has been a series of spasms, born of panic, that has swept the whole organisation from the Olympians of Maiden Lane to the most insignificant member.

So, as the political world is now agitated by the fear of German aggression, out of which arise the demands for "Dreadnoughts," "Territorials," and "Citizen Armies," we are entertained by a series of ponderous and solemn pronouncements by the S.D.P., or by Hyndman — which, in this instance, is the same thing.

We have before us a copy of *Justice* dated April 18th, 1909. It is made up mostly of a report of the Party's Annual Conference (rich reading, by the way), a defense of the stock-broking, company-promoting, capitalist, Bottomley, and articles and correspondence dealing with the impending invasion of England by the Germans. We find that not only are the good people of Holland in a state of anxiety concerning the birth of an heir to the Throne, but the diplomats of Chancery Hall live in fear that if the desired event does not come off the "treacherous Teuton and dastardly Deutscher" will clutch that land of dykes.

The Danes, too, are warned against their impending fate. "Remember Schleswig-Holstein" cry our Jeremiads. And, most dreadfully of all, the credit of England will crash down before the onslaught of *l'ennemi: du genre humain*, the Kaiser.

There's hope for you yet, Hyndman and Quelch. Blatchford and Snowdon are now writing for the *Harmsworth Press*. You too are qualifying for Carmelite Street. Imagine the "Organ of Social-Democracy" in England concerned about the "credit" of this dear land, worrying about the "liberties" of England and of the small nations! We have yet to learn that even if the phantom of invasion materialised the "credit" of the half-starved, sweating slaves would crash, and if it did where would it go to? And our "liberties"—where would they go to? Pshaw! it is ludicrous!

How long will it be before footballers in general realise the position, and having done so, determine to do their part in the struggle for class emancipation?

The writer of the article goes on to compare the professional footballer with the skilled mechanic, pointing out that the former, like the latter, is "employed to do certain work and supply a want by a limited company."

Accompanying the article is a cartoon which is even more remarkable, for it is a pictorial representation of the commodity form of labour. It shows two bloated capitalists, one a prospective buyer, the other a prospective seller. Between them is the "Pro," his arms tied behind his back, and fastened to a long chain at the end of which is a heavy cannon ball. The seller is saying to the buyer, "A fine fellow, worth £20,000, and only costs £4 to keep a week."

A little more economic pressure and the "Pros" will have to recognise that the only way they can emancipate themselves, and incidentally their sport, from the domination of capitalism is for them to fall in line with the international working class, and organise with them for the conquest of political power, and having obtained that they must proceed to dispossess the capitalists from their ownership of all natural resources and tools of production, in order that these resources and means may be socially owned and used.

The nucleus of that organisation is here, in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. H. H.

periodical panics that come to all who do not yet comprehend that basis.

As regards the S.P.G.B., we know where we are. We know that in the course of economic evolution the struggles between nations have undergone changes. We know that there has been no war of modern times that has not been actuated by capitalist interests. Whether it was the Crimean, the American Civil, the Franco-German, the Russo-Turkish, the American-Spanish, the South African, or the Russo-Japanese war, all arose from the struggle for supremacy of the master class of different countries. While capital is dominant war and the threat of war will continue, our masters interests occasionally calling for it.

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We have before us a copy of *Justice* dated April 18th, 1909. It is made up mostly of a report of the Party's Annual Conference (rich reading, by the way), a defense of the stock-broking, company-promoting, capitalist, Bottomley, and articles and correspondence dealing with the impending invasion of England by the Germans. We find that not only are the good people of Holland in a state of anxiety concerning the birth of an heir to the Throne, but the diplomats of Chancery Hall live in fear that if the desired event does not come off the "treacherous Teuton and dastardly Deutscher" will clutch that land of dykes.

The Danes, too, are warned against their impending fate. "Remember Schleswig-Holstein" cry our Jeremiads. And, most dreadfully of all, the credit of England will crash down before the onslaught of *l'ennemi: du genre humain*, the Kaiser.

There's hope for you yet, Hyndman and Quelch. Blatchford and Snowdon are now writing for the *Harmsworth Press*. You too are qualifying for Carmelite Street. Imagine the "Organ of Social-Democracy" in England concerned about the "credit" of this dear land, worrying about the "liberties" of England and of the small nations! We have yet to learn that even if the phantom of invasion materialised the "credit" of the half-starved, sweating slaves would crash, and if it did where would it go to? And our "liberties"—where would they go to? Pshaw! it is ludicrous!

How long will it be before footballers in general realise the position, and having done so, determine to do their part in the struggle for class emancipation?

The writer of the article goes on to compare the professional footballer with the skilled mechanic, pointing out that the former, like the latter, is "employed to do certain work and supply a want by a limited company."

Accompanying the article is a cartoon which is even more remarkable, for it is a pictorial representation of the commodity form of labour. It shows two bloated capitalists, one a prospective buyer, the other a prospective seller. Between them is the "Pro," his arms tied behind his back, and fastened to a long chain at the end of which is a heavy cannon ball. The seller is saying to the buyer, "A fine fellow, worth £20,000, and only costs £4 to keep a week."

A little more economic pressure and the "Pros" will have to recognise that the only way they can emancipate themselves, and incidentally their sport, from the domination of capitalism is for them to fall in line with the international working class, and organise with them for the conquest of political power, and having obtained that they must proceed to dispossess the capitalists from their ownership of all natural resources and tools of production, in order that these resources and means may be socially owned and used.

The nucleus of that organisation is here, in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. H. H.

periodical panics that come to all who do not yet comprehend that basis.

As regards the S.P.G.B., we know where we are. We know that in the course of economic evolution the struggles between nations have undergone changes. We know that there has been no war of modern times that has not been actuated by capitalist interests. Whether it was the Crimean, the American Civil, the Franco-German, the Russo-Turkish, the American-Spanish, the South African, or the Russo-Japanese war, all arose from the struggle for supremacy of the master class of different countries. While capital is dominant war and the threat of war will continue, our masters interests occasionally calling for it.

Then we take the S.D.P., and oh! what a difference we see. The S.D.P. never have ought to do with Liberals. Burrows of Haggerston, Irving of Burnley, Watts of Dulwich, answer NO! They are not sentimental; they are scientific Marxists when the people want scientific Marxism, but when they do not, well, the S.D.P. are always willing to oblige (*vide Justice*, April 18th, p. 6, col. 2).

Lastly, but not least, have we not the ripe knowledge of foreign affairs that only Hyndman can impart? Hyndman, who has been the unseen directing force of many a puzzled Foreign Secretary of State!

As a result we have the S.D.P. thinking and saying as do H. M. H. and Quelch. We include Quelch because in foreign affairs Harry thinks as H. M. H. does, and H. M. H. thinks as Harry does in home affairs and so returns the compliment. The result is and has been a series of spasms, born of panic, that has swept the whole organisation from the Olympians of Maiden Lane to the most insignificant member.

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May 1st, 1909.

attention to the "German Peril" and our unsatisfactory defences on the East Coast. And Hyndman, Quelch, and other S.D.P. Peers have ever since been asserting it with a great weariness of repetition, Let us examine the quality of Blatchford's "evidence." On one occasion after a sinister reference to miles of quays and wonderful harbours capable of holding 200 torpedo boats, he made the reader's hair stand on end by a yarn that 200,000 soldiers had practised embarking at Emden. Obviously the preliminary steps of a mighty invasion: history was to repeat itself with a great German Armada. But the Liberal *Manchester Guardian* took upon itself the task of abolishing this legend. It traced the story back beautifully to its source—the *National Review* and *Toby of Punch*. What had actually occurred was a single regiment practising embarkation. Four days later Blatchford humbly apologised, admitted that he had been duped, "had felt at the time all the difficulties," but "had confidence in his informant," and so on *ad nauseam*.

But what an experience for a Socialist! To see a Liberal organ with clearly a larger knowledge of the subject calmly, and with much real dignity, rebuking a popular "Socialist leader" for his commonplace jingoism. I say jingoism. Take this as typical: "In the old days, when war threatened our fathers, it was the custom to light beacon fires upon the hills. I light my fire to-day, and it shall not go out if I can keep it burning." When Blatchford, the creator of that outburst, was at Burnley a few months ago, he was raucously cheered for five minutes by six thousand Social Democrats, I.L.P. Peers, and the like. And this man is referred to as the actual potente of Socialism in this England of ours. Last week's circulation—81,000. Eighty-one thousand what? Jingoes, sentimentalists, altruists, cyclists.

Blatchford speaks of "this hour of national peril." Mark, national peril, not class peril. Anyone who was the proprietor of a universal store in Liverpool, and there was a danger of the precious pile being shelled by the German fleet, could rationally be rhetorical about national peril and beacon fires. But from the worker's point of view the capitalists who exploit "this little isle in the silver sea" are of the same calibre as the capitalists who extract surplus-value in the Fatherland. Hasn't Hyndman always been a defender of German working-class conditions against the charges of the Liberal Free Traders? The British Board of Trade, after an elaborate investigation into the condition of the German working class, concluded that it was equal to three-fourths of the English standard. And if the Germans had made an examination into English working-class conditions it is probable that they would have issued a like bulky report with the opposite as a conclusion. Why, then, this *Clarion* hysteria? Surely we have evolved past the stage where it is believed that Kaiser William or Edward Rex govern their respective domains?

They occupy the position so long as their respective ideas are in harmony with capitalist interests.

Then let Blatchford spout and rave and declaim. Let us not be gulled with passionate sentiment about national sentiment and defensive wars. Herve has well shown that where capitalist interest are concerned it is impossible for the workers to know which country is the aggressor in case of war. Germany as a rapacious nation may be all that Blatchford makes her out to be. So the British lion is rapacious, the American eagle, the Russian bear, and all the other atavistic symbols of birds and beasts of prey. The attitude of the worker should be one of deliberate detachment from all national perils and quarrels. The ties and attachments we will defend are those created for us by economic development and the class struggle, namely: unity and solidarity among the oppressed toilers of all lands. The Hyndmans and Blatchfords must not be allowed to lead us into the arms of the workers' common enemy, the international capitalist class. Divide and rule has ever been the oppressor's motto, and when the S.D.P. and *Clarion* crowd seek to set British and German workers against each other they play the oppressors' game, and thereby become our enemies, for they are misleaders of the working class.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

JOTTINGS.

Kerr Hardie, M.P., told a Peterborough audience recently that "Socialism is the embodiment of the ethical principles of the Sermon on the Mount."

* * *

Mr. Hardie must have been speaking with his tongue in his cheek. If we are to "resist not evil," why do sentimentalists like J. Kerr Hardie pretend to engage in combatting the evil conditions surrounding us to-day? They should be the meekest of the meek, and turn the other cheek to the smiter. Socialists worthy of the name are not of the "poor in spirit" type of mental slaves who are to "inherit the earth," nor can they "love their enemies." These "ethical principles of the Sermon on the Mount" are beyond the shadow of a doubt the very basis of the I.L.P., in which love of the capitalist enemy is much more manifest than regard for the interest of the working class, and whose leaders about equally divide their energies between teaching the workers to turn the other cheek and imprinting Judas kisses thereon.

* * *

Further, a system of society in which no one took any "thought for the morrow" as regards food, clothing, and shelter, would hardly suit the present scribe, who is a little bit diffident when it comes to going "naked and unashamed," and must confess to an utter inability to turn a deaf ear to the woeful wail of his "Little Mary." I have a suspicion that Mr. Hardie's practice (or pretended practice) of endeavouring to better the present material conditions runs counter to the theory (if it has any theory) of the injunction "take no thought for the morrow." Perhaps did some unlucky chance stop the payment of the salaries of the Labour M.P.s, theory and practice might come to be more in agreement.

* * *

But the thought presents itself that this statement of the unimportance of material wealth indicates that the I.L.P. conception of Socialism is a system of society based on a cloud, where the elect "toil not neither do they spin," yet "Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of them." A spiritual inheritance of the meek, where the principal diet is a spiritual treacle, and where they take turn and turn about with their good friends the capitalists (I.L.P. "Object"—"The nationalisation of capital") listening at the keyhole to the "weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth" in the "outer darkness," where the "impossibilists," who always were very devils for the tangible and material, are enjoying the very material brimstone, served hot.

* * *

Item—the I.L.P. WAR-CHEST is empty. Comment—Blessed are the peacemakers.

* * *

The second reading of the Daylight-Saving Bill brought forward the information that the sum of £92,000 per annum would be saved to the railway companies, in Great Britain alone. The efficiency of the army would also be increased owing to the Territorial Force having more opportunities for daylight shooting practice. From these two points alone we see how vital the passing of the Bill is to the working-class interest, and why D. J. Shackleton, M.P., should be anxious to support the measure. With greater facilities (perhaps) for cultivating allotments there would follow a greater demand for these, which, as a result, would cause land for the purpose to rise in price, to the benefit of the landlord class.

* * *

Of course, some readers may say "the workers working the same number of hours as now would not cultivate allotments to any greater extent than at present, because the days work under modern conditions leaves them no energy to do so." This is also true in the main, but proves nothing beyond the Bill's futility from a working-class stand-point.

* * *

Robert Blatchford (*Clarion*, March 26 '09)

desire a commission of enquiry composed of honest business men to investigate the facts of the naval scare (so largely engineered by Mr. H. M. Hyndman and himself). The honest business man is such a *rara avis* that there is small hope of finding sufficient of him to form a commission of enquiry. This commission of business and scientific experts is required because "those who pay the bills should have control of the expenditure." As the capitalist class pay the bills (for armaments, etc.) through their taxes and rates, and their interests are opposed to those of the working class, then Mr. Blatchford, by his advocacy of an extension of municipal and Government ownership of trading concerns, because the rates are lowered by such methods, has been guilty of opposing working-class interests.

* * *

In a subsequent article in the same paper (April 2nd) we are told that "the downfall of England would be a disaster to the human race," and alluding directly to Germany's preparation for war Mr. Blatchford says "we have either to fight or go under."

* * *

I suppose Mr. Blatchford wants, then, to fight, to preserve, protect, and perpetuate the condition of affairs pictured in his book "Dismal England," and it would be a disaster to change these.

* * *

I rather think Mr. Blatchford might reconsider whether, in the long run, it would be a disaster if we were licked by Germany. The *Clarion*'s editor should be pleased that the introduction of a regime which has had the following effect in Germany should prevail over here. My figures are from the "Socialist Annual" 1909, and whilst I, as an S.P.G.B'er, do not consider the votes polled to be Socialist votes, Mr. Blatchford should find no difficulty in accepting them.

Germany. England.
"Soc. and Lab." members 43 32
Total members in Parliament 397 670
Per cent. of "Soc. and Lab."

Members of Parliament 10·9 4·7
Total "Soc. and Lab." poll 3,259,023 334,920

But I suppose we must overlook the ramblings of Mr. Blatchford because he says he is suffering from severe influenza, and among other symptoms of that dread complaint I read that "co-incident with the fever and catarrh, and perhaps in proportion to the severity of the former, is a peculiar state of the nervous system. There is great depression and loss of spirits . . . The mind is often affected, and the patient may become stupid and delirious." From which it seems that Mr. Blatchford has been suffering from the malady for quite an extensive period, and that for years past, instead of trying to teach the workers that "every man who owns a spade is a capitalist," he should have been comfortably tucked up in bed, with "Dangle" and Sathers, as individuals who, having become chronically "stupid and delirious" have nothing more to fear, playing the part of devoted nurses.

* * *

Victor Grayson's worldly wisdom is not placing himself before the electors of Colne Valley after his suspension from Parliament was shown on Saturday, April 3rd, when the District Council election in the Colne Valley Division resulted in not one "Socialist" candidate being returned. Three so-called Socialist seats at New Mill and Slaithwaite were won by the Unionists and Liberals, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. Grayson spoke on behalf of some of the candidates.

* * *

The Colne Valley election of 1907 (when Mr. Grayson was elected) was instanced "as showing the power of ideal Socialism to win the hearts of the people." This was at the Edinburgh I.L.P. Conference on April 10th, 1909, but I make bold to say that Mr. Grayson, from whom the remark emanated, did not produce his election address in order to show the I.L.P. delegates in conference assembled, what constituted "ideal Socialism," and so give them a treat. If any of the following items which appeared on that election address are Socialistic it would be interesting to know which it is.

Here is the list: the Land Question, Free Trade, Free Meals for School Children, Government Reform, House of Lords, Education, Old Age Pensions, Right to Work, and last, though not least prominent on this "Socialistic" election address, Votes for Women on the same terms as men! Quite as "Socialistic" as many a Radical election address, is it not? No wonder Philip Snowden said at the last annual Conference at Huddersfield that "Mr. Grayson made no reference whatever to Socialism in his address except to describe himself as a Socialist and Labour candidate."

* * *

The S.D.P., who are such strong opponents of "Secret Diplomacy," also held their annual Conference during Easter, and after the Chairman's address on Good Friday, the remainder of that day and more than two hours of the Saturday sitting were spent with closed doors.

Rumour hath it that the occasion was the washing of dirty linen, and one is justified in the suspicion that the doors were closed because the parties concerned were ashamed of the public discovering how very disgustingly foul the linen really was. Anyway, nothing has transpired to lead one to suppose that, as the result of resorting to the methods of Secret Diplomacy, I mean a secret washing society, the linen came out of the wash any cleaner than it went in.

* * *

Drat that bell! 'Scuse me. Hullo! Yes. Exclusive information? Never pay for that sort of thing. I can't help—what's that? Closed doors?—know all about that. To consider what? The report of the Committee to consider the necessity or otherwise of co-ordinating and re-classifying the items in the S.D.P. programme and to suggest any necessary alterations, deletions, and additions. Well, that's their business, and anyway, that programme of nearly 50 "immediate reforms" wants revising. Moral victory for the "young Turks"? M'perhaps. Good-bye.

* * *

The North West Ham branch S.D.P. had the impudence to suggest that Will Thorne, M.P., should either resign the Labour Party or his membership of the S.D.P. Have North West Ham, Southwark, and Coventry Branches been comparing S.D.P. Rule 41 and found his position "illogical and harmful to the Party?" Me-thinks it would be more harmful to the Party if Thorne left it.

JAYBEE.

OUR ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Fifth Annual Conference of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was held at the Communist Club on Friday and Saturday, 9th and 10th of April, 1909.

Comrade A. R. Snellgrove (Peckham) occupied the chair, supported by Comrade Fawcett (Fulham). Comrades Fox (Tottenham), and Crump (Wood Green) acted as Credentials Committee, and Stearn and Hutchins as Stewards and tellers. The Credentials Committee reported 31 delegates present representing 15 branches.

The report of the retiring Executive Committee was then read as follows:—

"Comrades,
"Since last Conference 44 Executive Committee Meetings have been held.

"Detailed reports of these meetings have been duly sent to the Branches.

"The report was adopted unanimously.

H. J. Neumann (Treas.) submitted financial Statement for year ending December, 1908, showing income of over £2,27. W. Evans (auditor) said the audit, owing to the illness of his co-auditor, had not been completed and was unsigned. Discussion arose due to the Treasurer confusing a supplementary statement with that for the year 1908, and it was resolved "That at future Conferences the Financial Statement be drawn up to the end of the preceding year." The report was adopted subject to audit.

A. Anderson submitting his report, said the Party work had been curtailed owing to lack of speakers, and urged the need for new speakers.

The following officers were declared elected:

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Gen. Sec., T. W. Lobb; Treas., H. J. Neumann; Organiser, A. Anderson; Auditors, A. Tunney, T. A. Wilson; Executive Committee, Allen, Anderson, Fitzgerald, Gray, Jacob, Fairbrother, Halls, Joy, Young, Bennett, Evans, Cooper.

Tottenham's resolution "That discussion be allowed on every item on the conference agenda" was carried by 236 votes to 48.

The item from Manchester "That any member of the S.P.G.B. elected to Parliament shall not take the oath of allegiance to the Constitution" was discussed, and a resolution to send same to the branches for voting defeated.

Manchester's resolution re paid organiser for Lancashire roused little discussion. Considerable discussion arose on resolutions from Peckham and Stoke Newington urging the enlargement of the SOCIALIST STANDARD. Eventually Conference resolved "That the E.C. be recommended to take up the whole matter at once and report to the next Delegate Meeting."

Conference now adjourned for the Annual Social, which was a great success. "The World for the Workers," the song written and composed by Comrade Neumann and sung by the Paddington Choir was received with applause to which the author responded in a short speech.

The first item on Saturday was on the question, raised by Stoke Newington, of the advisability of allowing members to run as candidates for Urban and Borough Councils. Woizinski opened saying that a member of the Party could do nothing on such bodies, which are under the control of the central Government, and that it is useless contesting such elections. Bigby (Tottenham) said that from the point of view of propaganda alone the policy of contesting such elections was good. Neumann said local bodies were part of the political machinery and had to be captured. Halls denied that local bodies had no power. Their power was limited, but such as it was it could and should be used in the interest of the working class. Many others spoke against the resolution and the conference passed to next item, which was "That it be an instruction to the E.C. to take up the matter of establishing educational classes in the centre of different districts in London." After considerable discussion as to the efficiency of such classes, it was agreed "That the E.C. be instructed to appoint a sub-committee to immediately consider the organisation of educational classes, the E.C. to have power to add members not on the E.C."

The matter of the publication of pamphlets arising from a resolution from the Watford Branch was left in the hands of the E.C.

A resolution from Tottenham to the effect that a report of the Conference together with the Rules be published as a penny pamphlet was defeated. The Conference then passed to amendments to rules, some slight alterations only being voted.

The Conference then settled down to discuss the resolutions from Manchester and Fulham dealing with the statement in the Manifesto with reference to Trade Unions.

MANCHESTER: "That the E.C. in issuing subsequent editions of the Party Manifesto amplify the following passage: 'That Trade Unions being a necessity under capitalism, any action upon their part on sound lines should be heartily supported.'"

FULHAM: "That the lines 25 to 27 of the Party Manifesto be taken out."

Space does not allow of a report of the interesting discussion (lasting nearly five hours) which followed. Fawcett opened on behalf of Fulham, and was supported by Comrades Connally (Burnley), Neumann, Snellgrove, Wren and Fisher. Fitzgerald opposed, and was supported by Comrades Halls, Anderson, Gray, Goss, Glen (Watford) and others. Finally it was decided to send both resolutions to the branches for a referendum vote of the Party.

A resolution dealing with membership of Railway Conciliation Board was unavoidably held over.

The Secretary read a letter from M. Baritz (New York) asking for readmission to membership of the Party. After some discussion the Secretary was instructed to inform him that the Party could not admit him to membership as such a short time had elapsed since his previous application had been rejected.

The most successful Conference that the Party has yet held then adjourned.

T. W. L.

May 1st, 1909.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MAY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 F. Leigh	E. Fairbrother	J. H. Halls	H. Newman	J. E. Roe
" Chelsea, World's End	7.30 H. Newman	J. H. Halls	F. Joy	G. H. Smith	A. Reginald
Earlsfield, Penwith Road	11.30 E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe	E. Fairbrother	T. W. Allen	J. H. Halls
Clapham Common	11.30 J. H. Halls	F. Joy	A. Anderson	E. Fairbrother	F. Leigh
Finsbury Park	3.30 H. Newman	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald	H. Newman	F. Leigh
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Reginald	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	R. H. Kent	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson
Peckham Rye	11.30 T. W. Allen	F. W. Stearn	F. Leigh	J. Crump	H. Newman
Tooting Broadway	11.30 J. E. Roe	T. W. Allen	F. Joy	E. Fairbrother	H. Newman
" Tottenham, West Green Cn.	7.30 F. Leigh	G. Smith	A. Anderson	F. W. Stearn	F. Joy
Watford, Market Place	11.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen
West Ham, Boleyn Tavern	7.30 A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald	F. C. Watts
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	8. J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh	H. Newman	F. C. Watts	A. Anderson
" " "	11.30 J. Kennett	H. King	J. Crump	J. Kennett	H. King
MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Penwith Road, 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Park, 8 p.m.	11.30 F. W. Stearn	F. Dawkins	H. King	R. H. Kent	F. W. Stearn
TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.	7.30 J. Crump	A. Anderson	F. W. Stearn	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen
WEDNESDAYS.—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Paddington, Ilbert St., 8.30.	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "
THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury Corner, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Greengate, Plaistow, 8 p.m.	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "
FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "	" " "

TOTTENHAM U.D.C. ELECTION.

Tottenham Branch put forward three candidates in the U.D.C. election, and good propaganda work was done. The local capitalist Press assisted by pointing out that our men had no connection with other "Socialists," and leaflets were issued by the enemy stating that our nominees would represent, not the ratepayers, but the S.P.G.B. After doing all we could to prevent non-Socialists voting for us the result was:

HIGH CROSS WARD (Two Vacancies).	
Fremain (Tory)	409
*Dobson (Labour and Progressive)	240
*Cottle	220
Kent (S.P.G.B.)	60
Stearn	54
ST. ANN'S WARD (One Vacancy).	
*Taylor (Tory)	472
Anderson (S.P.G.B.)	157
* Retiring Councillors.	

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- " Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- " Weekly People" (New York)
- " Evening Call" (New York)
- " Labor" (St. Louis)
- " The Keel" (Tyneside)
- " Gaelic American" (New York)
- " Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago)
- " Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- " The Flame," (Broken Hill)
- " Freedom," (London)
- " Anglo Russian," (London)

MANIFESTO

OF THE

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of Great Britain**

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THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

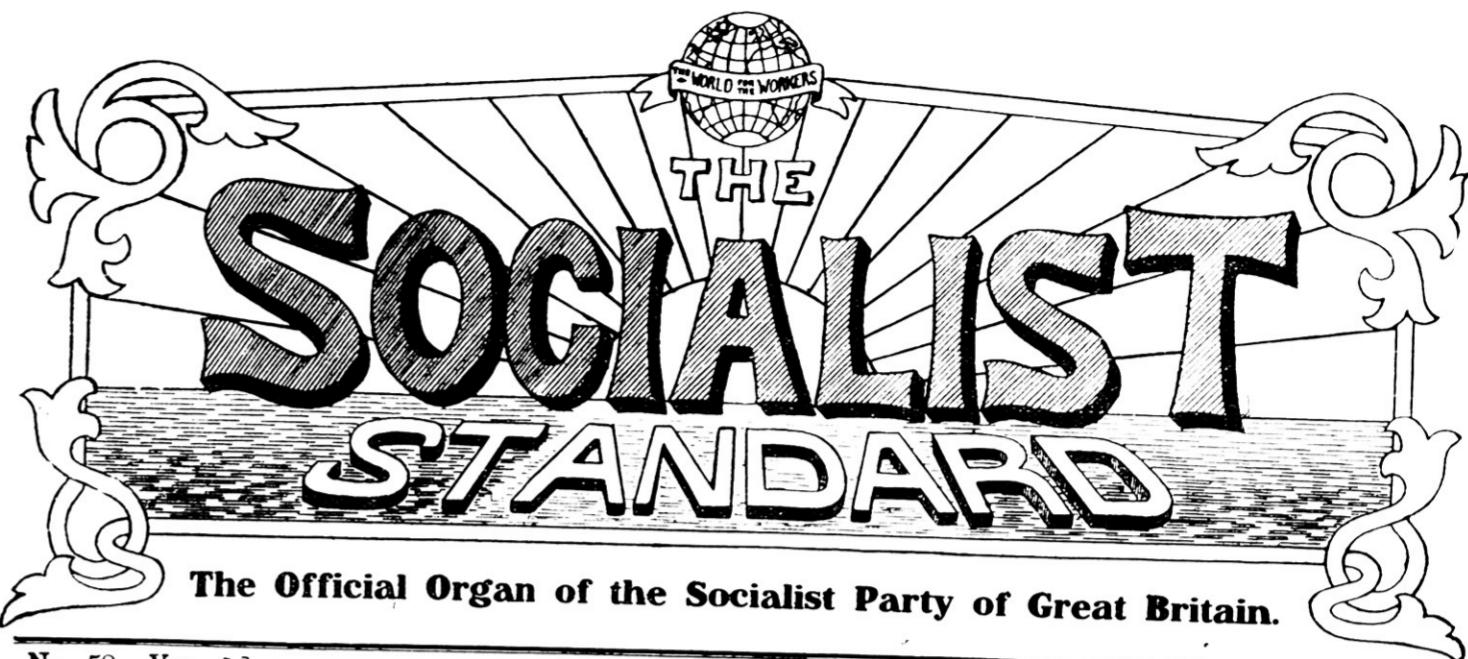
Address.....

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Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 58. VOL. 5.]

LONDON, JUNE 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

SOME LESSONS FROM THE PARIS STRIKE. RAYS OF LIGHT FOR NATIONALISERS & ANARCHISTS.

THE unfortunate end of the Paris postal strike is pregnant with meaning for the working class. It shows, in the first place, the stupidity or worse, of those who identify nationalisation with Socialism. The *Clarion* folk repeatedly

A Step confuse their readers in this way. *toward* Blatchford does so in his "Britain Serfdom," for the British," and the passage re-

appears at intervals in the *Clarion*.

Now Suthers, also of the *Clarion*, again openly identifies the two opposites as one and the same thing on May 28th, in No. 48 of his "Points for Socialism." Yet the postal strike once more has shown that not only are the capitalists equally keen on exploiting the workers whether through private industry or through the State, which they control, but also that the spread of nationalisation may, while the capitalists are in power, spell a decrease in the economic and political liberties of the workers. Thus instead of nationalisation being a step towards Socialism it may well be a step toward serfdom. Nationalised industry cannot be Socialism until the workers are the masters of the State, otherwise it is but State exploitation. Hence the class struggle is extremely important. The concentration of industry by trust and State will go on whether the workers will it or not, so that the whole available energy of the workers is needed for the conquest of political power; for then, and then only, can nationalisation be Socialism.

The failure of the Parisian postal employees has also illustrated the fact that on the economic field the capitalist class is becoming increasingly the stronger. Trade unions grow in numbers and federate ever more closely, but industry concentrates and capitalists combine even more quickly, and certainly with more economic power. Every year tells its tale of an increasing number of strikes decided against the toilers, and every year sees a worsening of labour conditions. Trade unions, to be effective, must comprise all workers who are willing to resist the encroachments of capital, and not, as some would have it, revolutionaries only. Conflict on the economic field is inevitable, nevertheless trade unionism can only be a brake on the downward trend of capitalist conditions.

Yet there are some who, because the politicians of the bourgeoisie do not work for working-class interests, condemn even genuine working-class politics, and talk stupidly of "direct" revolutionary action. In general these

The Folly individuals have had no trade union experience, but of have rushed from an anti- "Direct" Action, trade union attitude into the futile extreme of Industrialism. They preach working-class emancipation by means of a general strike that is to "take and hold" the means of production and overturn the capitalist State. This they call "direct action."

The idea of replacing political methods by the "ir-revolutionary" general strike is in decline in every country in which it has been lately prominent. Such is the poverty of their case that they are reduced to claiming all trade union activity as "direct action," even when it has no political object whatever. Thus they try to make it appear that the critic of their anarchistic proposals condemns all economic action and is a blackleg!

When one compares the reserves of the possessing class with those of the propertyless, there can be no doubt which would issue victorious from such a strike. While the capitalists hold the entire organisation of the political State, command the armed forces and the stores of war, and are thus able to prevent the workers producing for themselves, who can deny that the proletariat would be speedily starved into submission? The general strike (that is, a strike that is general) would be infinitely less effective as a means of overthrowing the State than a general lock-out prepared by the masters would be as a means of starving the workers into utter subjection.

Recent events in Paris give point to our contention, and hold lessons even more useful.

The Postal employees had apparently won their first strike. Entire satisfaction was to be granted them; Syman was to go; their right to combine

Some Fools was conceded. One London neo-Anarchist cursed with an *Learn* unhappy itch for scribbling,

by Experience and a colossal ignorance of French Syndical affairs, claimed this as a victory for "direct action," and cited it as vindicating the methods of the Anarchist clique who had controlled the French General Confederation. Yet the postal workers were in no way connected with the Confederation. Their organisation was not even a trade union, but merely an amicable association; and their action in striking against their insulting chief did not differ in essentials from any ordinary strike against their manager; and finally, and unfortunately, their strike was not a victory at all. The French Radical Ministry had merely stepped back in order to jump further—they did not hold political power for nought. The first strike of the ultra-respectable postal workers had been unexpected by the postal authorities. It caught them unprepared. This could not happen twice. Extensive preparations were now made. Men from the army and navy were ordered to be in readiness; they were coached in their coming duties and familiarised with the necessary apparatus. Everyone saw that a conflict was coming. The General Confederation asserted that the postal workers would, next time, be backed by the whole force of the Confederation. But the capitalists showed how little they fear the general strike, by deliber-

ately forcing the struggle on. The ambiguous promises of the Ministry were broken. The detestable Syman was retained. Men who had taken part in the previous strike were dismissed

The Masters in batches, and others were prosecuted for their political utterances. That the second strike

the Strike, was deliberately provoked by

the Administration is admitted in the C.G.T. manifesto which avowed the collapse of the general strike. Pressed beyond endurance the postal workers came out, but from the first their defeat was certain. Soldiers and sailors replaced strikers. The Chambers of Commerce organised sorting offices, and but little perturbation was noticeable in the services. The strikers went back in batches, and when nearly all but those dismissed had gone back an urgent appeal was made to the trade unions for a strike in aid, in order to encourage the postal employés to make a stand and to force the Government to yield. Then occurred the fiasco which exposed the hollowness of the "direct action" bluff that had hitherto characterised the French labour movement. The experience of the past few years had shown the weakness of the French trade union movement with its small numbers, lack of funds, and loose organisation, and demonstrated the futility of the Anarchist idea that an active minority can carry with it an inert mass. Fatuous Anarchist gymnastics had jaded the workers into apathy. Niel, to his credit, moderate though he may be, bravely opposed the "direct action" all through, but he was not listened to. A majority of his council had been talking wildly and bombastically at the various meetings that had been held. They had spoken of the "legions" of the Confederation awaiting the order to strike. The Government was to be hurled into the dust and the society of to-morrow was to be inaugurated. The hour of emancipation was at hand. Niel, therefore, had to bow to the majority, and loyally executed its decree, though he foresaw plainly the result. The general strike was declared. And the consequence was the fiasco of which the reader will have already heard. It gave a parting kick to the already defeated postal workers, and exposed the whole Syndicalist movement to the ridicule of the world. As Niclolet said at the Manège St. Paul demonstration, the navvies were practically the only ones to obey the call. The notorious Pataud, of the electricians, had

Socialists definitely promised the support of his union, but nothing came of it. And so it was all round.

In no Quandary. The rank and file had got tired of gymnastics, and they refused to march, even for a worthy object, at the behest of their "leaders." In view of this the postal employés resumed work at once, and the Con-

[Continued on back page.]

[CONTINUED FROM MAY ISSUE.]

THE CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Specially translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain and approved by the Author.

9. CHRONIC OVER-PRODUCTION.

Besides the periodical crises and the waste of energy caused by the temporary destruction of values, there is a constant increase in chronic over-production, and with it a permanent waste of energy.

We have seen that technical evolution proceeds uninterruptedly; its scope extends continually, because from year to year new fields and branches of industry are conquered by large scale capitalist production; the productivity of labour, therefore, grows continually, that is to say, taking the totality of capitalist societies, increases ever more rapidly. At the same time the accumulation of new capital takes place unceasingly. The more the exploitation of the single worker increases (not only in one country but in all countries exploited by capitalists), the more grows also the sum total of surplus-value and the total amount of wealth which the capitalist class is able to put by in order to transform it into capital. Capitalist production cannot, therefore, remain limited to a certain stage of development; its continual extension and that of its market is vital to its very existence: a standing still spells its end. While in times gone by the handicraft and small farming system produced results equal from year to year, and production, as a rule, increased only with the population, the capitalist method of production necessitates, as a matter of course, uninterrupted expansion of production; and every hindrance means a disease of society which becomes the more painful and unbearable the longer it lasts. Besides the temporary stimulus given to the expansion of production by temporary extensions of the market, we find that a permanent impulse is given by the conditions of production themselves; an impulse which, instead of having been caused by an extension of the market, on the contrary makes a continual extension of it necessary.

The field for extending the market of capitalist production is certainly tremendous; it transgresses all local and national limitations, claiming the entire globe for its market. But it has also caused the globe to shrink very considerably. Even a hundred years ago there were, apart from the western parts of Europe, only several maritime countries and islands that formed the market for the capitalist industry which was principally carried on in England. So tremendous, however, were the efforts and the avarice of the capitalists and their helpers, and so gigantic the means at their disposal, that since then nearly all countries of the earth have been made accessible to the commodities of capitalist industry, which is no longer solely English; so that there remain scarcely any markets to be opened up, other than those from which nothing is to be gained—except fever and thrashings.

The astounding development of transport certainly makes possible a yearly increasing exploitation, yet with those people who are not quite savages, and have shown signs of culture or the desire for culture, the market presents an ever changing aspect. The penetration of commodities (of the products of large industry) kills the small national industry everywhere,—not only in Europe,—and transforms the handicraftsmen and peasants into proletarians. Thereby important changes are caused in two directions in every market for capitalist industry. It diminishes the purchasing power of the population and thus works against the expansion of consumption on the markets concerned. But it produces there also—and that is even more important—by the creation of a proletariat, the basis for the introduction of the capitalist method of production. The European large industry is thus digging its own grave. From a certain point of development every further expansion of the market spells the creation of a new competitor. The large industry of the United States, which is not much older than a generation, not only becomes independent of European industry, but is also making for the conquest of the whole of America; even the more youthful Russian industry is beginning to alone supply industrial commodities the tremendous territory which Russia commands in Europe and Asia. East India, China, Japan and Australia develop into industrial states, which sooner or later will become self-supporting in industrial respects; in short, the moment seems to be near, when the market for European industry not only becomes incapable of expansion, but begins to contract. But that would spell the bankruptcy of the entire capitalist society.

And already for some time expansion of the market proceeds much too slowly for the needs of capitalist production, which encounters always more and more hindrances, and finds it ever less possible to fully utilise its productive powers. The periods of economic booms become continually briefer, while the periods of crisis grow more extensive, particularly in old industrial countries, as for instance, England and France. Countries in which the capitalist method of production is comparatively new, as America and Germany, may yet have longer periods of prosperity. But there are always young capitalist countries with very brief boom periods and long periods of crisis, as Austria and Russia.

In consequence the quantity of the means of production insufficiently or not at all made use of, increases, as does the amount of wealth remaining uninvested and the number of labourers compelled to remain idle. In that number are not only included the crowds of unemployed, but also all those numerous (and ever more numerous) parasites on the body of society, who, prevented from industrial activity, seek to eke out a miserable existence by often superfluous, but nevertheless strenuous, occupations, such as small dealers, innkeepers, agents and representatives; and to these must be added a very large number of slum proletarians divided into different sections, like the higher and lower showmen,

criminals, the professional prostitutes with their bullies and other hangers-on—all existing in a similar way. These numbers further include the large crowds of persons in the personal service of the possessing class, and finally the many soldiers. The steady increase of armies during the last twenty years would scarcely have been possible without the over-production which enabled industry to dispense with the labour of so many workers.

Capitalist society is beginning to be suffocated by its own superfluity; it becomes ever less capable of bearing the full development of the productive forces which it has created. Always more productive forces have to lie fallow, always more products have to be wasted, if the system is not altogether to collapse.

The capitalist method of production, the substituting for petty enterprise capitalist production on a large scale (with the means of production as private property concentrated in few hands and the producers as propertyless proletarians), this mode of production is the means of immensely increasing the productive power of labour, compared with the extremely limited productivity characteristic of handicraft and peasant agriculture. To accomplish this was the historic mission of the capitalist class. This class have fulfilled their task by bringing awful suffering upon the large mass of the people expropriated and exploited by them—but they have accomplished it. And this task was as much an historic necessity as were its two basic principles, namely, commodity production and private property in the means of production and products, so closely related to each other.

But while that task and its basic principles were historically necessary, they are no longer so to-day. The functions of the capitalist class are more and more relegated to paid officials, the large majority of the capitalists being reduced to the only function of consuming what others have produced; the capitalist has become as superfluous as was the feudal lord of a hundred years ago.

And even more. As were the feudal aristocracy in the eighteenth century, so are the capitalist class to-day already a hindrance to further development. Private property in the means of production has long ceased to guarantee to each producer the possession of his products and the liberty appertaining thereto. It is to-day rapidly making towards the abolition of this possession and of its liberty as far as the population of the capitalist nations is concerned; and from having once been a basic social principle, it now becomes more and more the means of destroying the entire basis of society. And it has changed from being a means of rapidly stimulating the development of society's productive forces into a means of increasingly compelling society to squander or keep fatal its productive forces.

Thus the character of private ownership in the means of production, not only as far as producers in petty enterprise, but also as far as the entire society is concerned, changes to its very opposite. Having once been the motive power of social development, it now becomes the cause of social deterioration and social bankruptcy.

To-day it is no more a question of wanting or not wanting to maintain private ownership in the means of production. Its end is certain. The only question is: shall it draw society with it into the abyss, or shall society free itself from its ruinous burden in order to proceed untrammeled and strengthened upon the road which social evolution has so plainly marked out for it?

[Conclusion of the third section of "Das Erfurter Program."]

PARTY PARTS.

STRENGTHENED and enthused by our recent successful Conference, the Party is more fit and ready than ever to carry on the work of Socialist propaganda, and with the advent of summer that work becomes more pleasant and more profitable. * * *

The Lecture List is growing, the fighting line is being extended, and the enemy engaged wherever "Reaction" still can rally a single defender. In the matter of debates the ANTI-SOCIALIST UNION is giving our Party special attention. Their representative, Mr. Hutson, being met at Battersea by our Comrade Allen, Mr. Turpin at Paddington by Comrade Watts, and Mr. Taylor at Islington by Comrade Anderson. In each case, of course, our speakers successfully disposed of their opponents, and good work was done in explaining the principles of the Socialist Party and in exposing the weakness of the Anti-Socialist case. * * *

At Tooting a debate had been arranged between Comrade Anderson and a Councillor Freeman, but owing to serious considerations of employment, Comrade Anderson was prevented from attending and Comrade H. Joy took his place. This was, perhaps, rather fortunate, as it enabled one of our younger speakers to prove his mettle. From our point of view the debate was a complete success, and more shall be heard of Joy. * * *

In Finsbury Park an impromptu skirmish took place between our Comrade Fitzgerald and a Mr. Collins of the Anti-Socialist Union. The latter, of course, suffered severely but wants more, and he shall have it. Our Islington comrades are fixing up details for a debate. They are also arranging a meeting with the Rev. J. A. Waldron. At Battersea and at Romford debates are pending with representatives of Anarchist and pseudo-Socialist parties. * * *

In the Provinces our Burnley comrades are carrying the war into the enemy's camp. Blackburn, Colne, and Darwen being visited and a large amount of literature disposed of. * * *

A branch of the Party has been formed at East Ham, and one is being formed at Walthamstow. Readers and sympathisers please note.

THE RELIGION OF PATRIOTISM.

(Being an extract from the speech delivered by Gustave Hervé to the jury, on the occasion of his trial for taking part in the "Antimilitarism" agitation. Now done into English for the Socialist Party of Great Britain by FRITZ.)

(It will be remembered that Gustave Hervé was condemned to pay a fine and sent to prison for four years, of which term he served about six months.—Editor.)

—:—:—:—

On yes! we certainly deserve to go to the stake like all heretics, we who offend as heretics against the holy spirit of patriotism! For it is a religion, this patriotism of modern nations, a belief which is instilled into our minds from the cradle up, by the very same process that has been used by every form of religion from time immemorial.

You know how a Catholic is made. The child is taken in hand from his cradle. His mother, as she fondles him in her arms, teaches him prayers which he learns to repeat parrot fashion; she tells him tales of God, paradise, hell. His tiny brain like wax receives all these impressions, but doesn't react under them. When he is seven years old, his mother, in the belief that she is doing the right thing by him, hands him over to the priest, who sows broadcast in his young brain childish bible stories which were current in ancient Judea, two or three thousand years ago, at a time when the Jewish people had about as little intellectual culture as the Behanzin blacks.

At the same time the stagey pomp of religious ceremonies, organ music, the "dim, religious light" of churches, incense, scattered profusely on the altar, gorgeous costumes of officiating priests, strike his imagination and act upon his nerves; from that moment, let the child become even a great thinker like Pasteur, his brain will refuse to discuss, to think, when he concerns himself about religious matters.

It was in just such a fashion that we—and perhaps you too, gentlemen of the jury—patriots all of us, were treated. At a tender age, when the spirit of criticism was not yet born in us, we used as children to listen, seated round the family table, to stories of the horrible crimes committed by Germans or Englishmen, and the deeds of valour done by Frenchmen: little German boys at that very moment were learning about all sorts of horrid deeds done by Frenchmen, Englishmen, or Russians.

They used to tell us that France was the country of brave men, the country where alone would be found the spirit of generosity and chivalry; that France was the refuge of liberty: they used to say just as much for their country to little English boys, to little Germans, Russians and Japanese. And we in our innocence used to believe the lot!

For New Year's gifts our parents, but especially our mother, would give us leaden soldiers, guns, drums, bugles and trumpets. And when this beautiful education had already made of us patriots in embryo, the school, the secular school, put the finishing touch by sending us clean cracked on patriotism.

Don't you remember your little school books in which the Lorisques of patriotism used to arrange and teach national history in order to reflect the greatest possible glory on the French fatherland?

Little German boys had in their hands just such books, but extolling exclusively the German fatherland.

Can't you call to mind those history books where on every page was cynically displayed some scene of bloodshed or the picture of some warrior bold?

They didn't favour us with one only the whole lot were put before us, Vercingetorix, Charles Martel, Duguesclin, Bayard, all Louis the Fourteenth's generals, including those who burnt the Palatinate; all the generals of the "Grand Army," who had dipp'd the flag of Valmy in the blood of every nation, not forgetting the vulture himself, Napoleon, on the top of his perch in the Place Vendome.*

Underneath each portrait were footnotes;

*During the Commune the Parisian proletarian dealt summarily with this monument to national vanity and bloodthirstiness. On May 16th 1871 the column was

with hatred of foreigners, national vanity, the worship of the sword oozing out from every line—fine sentiments, these, which a perusal of the *Petit Journal*—5,000,000 readers!—the *Petit Parisien* and other papers with large circulations only served to heighten and develop.

To put the finishing touch to our patriot, to infect him to the very marrow of his bones, what remains? This only—we must let him get drunk on military pomp, a still more impressive form of display than anything to be seen in church.

No longer have we chasubles glittering with gold and precious stones; their place is taken by costumes with loud and gaudy colours, red, blue, and golden, with plumes and feathers.

In place of soft organ music we get the more exciting blare of brass and trumpet fanfares.

No more processions now: instead we have reviews on a large scale, after which we all run to watch, a blazing sun above, dust underfoot, the march past of an endless array of weapons of slaughter, and long lines of youth—the flower of the nation—marked down for future butchery.

Then when at last the crowd of partots see going by on the end of a pole that scrap of stuff which represents the sacred emblem of the fatherland, a cold shiver of religious fervour runs down their backs, and they devoutly bare their heads, just as their great-grandfathers used to uncover and bow their heads whenever the holy sacrament passed by.

(To be continued.)

DISRUPTION AND ALLIANCE.

Under a heading of which the above is a correction or a distortion, according to one's point of view, Mr. Blatchford gives us in the *Clarion* of April 23rd, his and "our" opinion of the Grayson I.L.P.-Executive quarrel. It is a rather interesting four columns' worth, and significant of much. Mr. R. B. spreads himself over nearly two columns in an endeavour to prove his innocence of conspiring with others against the I.L.P., as if this worthy object were of some consequence; but the joke is that he then proceeds to charge the resigned I.L.P. officials with taking themselves too seriously! This is *Clarion* humour, made in Norwood. However, we must not stop to chuckle over the unconscious humour running right through the article in question, else we will never get to our subject, which is, to *deny in toto* some of the rash statements made by Mr. Blatchford.

Says he: "I do not approve of the I.L.P. alliance with the Labour Party. I think a Labour Party is a good thing, but the I.L.P. was a Socialist Party. In joining the Labour Party it ceased to be a Socialist Party." This will take some sorting out, but let's get to it, backwards. The I.L.P., in joining the Labour Party, did not cease to be a Socialist Party, for the very sufficient reason that the I.L.P. never was a Socialist Party. The I.L.P. was founded and fostered by a group of Radicals of the "advanced" type, whose main political object was the wresting of more social reforms from the other capitalist parties, which, together with the nationalisation of milk and the municipalisation of water, etc., they were pleased to dub "Socialism," and this, unfortunately, has side-tracked thousands of might-be Socialists from demanding the rice for the real Socialist pudding. Thus fostered, the I.L.P. has since maintained by a hotch-potch of sickly sentimentality and short-sighted political ineptitude(such as the "Right to be exploited" rubbish), such as can only be expected from the aforesaid foundation, and, of course, such no Socialist would mistake for Socialist propaganda.

The right of any lord to sit and vote in Parliament as a member of the House of Lords depends solely on the Royal Summons, on the issue by the Crown of a particular writ of summons. The issue of such writs of summons lies in the absolute discretion of the Crown, acting on the advice of responsible Ministers; 2—such lord in fact receives, but he has no absolute right to receive, a particular writ of summons from the Crown, and a new writ is issued to each lord for each new Parliament.

5—the Crown, acting on the advice of responsible Ministers, has full and absolute power and right under the Constitution henceforth or at any time to wholly cease to issue any writ of summons to any present member of the House of Lords, or any other person, upon which the House of Lords will and may cease to exist.

No denial, contradiction, or refutation of this appeared in the Manchester Press at the time, and it caused much comment in political circles locally.

W. E.

not only futile, but absolutely dishonest: when accompanied by political action against the interests of the working class. We have repeatedly brought this charge against the I.L.P.; there is ample proof of the charge being true in the back numbers of this journal, and we are not going to mitigate this charge on account of good intentions.

Mr. Blatchford thinks "a Labour Party is a good thing." He is also a supporter of the I.L.P. Then why does he disapprove of the I.L.P. joining with a "good thing"? Why squirm good things? Now the Labour Party is an avowedly non-Socialist body; Mr. Robert Blatchford claims to be a Socialist, yet he infers that the Labour Party is a "good thing." Surely as against this illogical attitude the constant position of the Socialist Party of Great Britain is as clear as daylight.

We say that the only "good thing" in the political arena is clean, straight cut, uncompromising action on Socialist lines; any other kind must necessarily be anti-Socialist action, and therefore not good but bad. "If she be not fair to me, what care I how fair she be." We maintain, *and act up to*, the motto that Mr. Blatchford gave voice to in the early days of the *Clarion*: "Those who are not with us are against us." We not only say this but we act upon it on every possible occasion, and this is the difference between the Socialists and our pseudo brethren.

As Socialism is the only thing that can really benefit the working class, it follows that an uncompromising Socialist Party must be the only true labour party, all else is either piffle or roguery, and whichever denomination it comes under, it leaves us to fight it.

The confusion, the groping in the dark, the leading to nowhere, of the position and policy of the I.L.P. must delight the hearts of the master class, and probably is meant for their edification.

There are many other items in this article of Robert Blatchford's which are open to criticism, but time and space forbid.

CUFFEY.

With the instalment appearing in the present issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD we complete our translation of Karl Kautsky's "The Capitalist Class," and readers are informed that it will shortly be issued in pamphlet form, as the third section of the famous "Das Erfurter Program," at one penny per copy. The work is one of the classics of Socialist literature, and a most important instrument of propaganda, it should therefore be made fullest use of.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

HOUSE OF LORDS—WRIT OF SUMMONS.
The late Dr. Pankhurst (Doctor at Law), wrote an article on the subject of Constitutional politics in the *Manchester Guardian* under date March 15th, 1894, and the following is an extract from that article:

The right of any lord to sit and vote in Parliament as a member of the House of Lords depends solely on the Royal Summons, on the issue by the Crown of a particular writ of summons. The issue of such writs of summons lies in the absolute discretion of the Crown, acting on the advice of responsible Ministers; 2—such lord in fact receives, but he has no absolute right to receive, a particular writ of summons from the Crown, and a new writ is issued to each lord for each new Parliament.

5—the Crown, acting on the advice of responsible Ministers, has full and absolute power and right under the Constitution henceforth or at any time to wholly cease to issue any writ of summons to any present member of the House of Lords, or any other person, upon which the House of Lords will and may cease to exist.

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W. E.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, "The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable."

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The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY, JUNE 1, 1909.

Raising the Wind.

As expected, the Budget bids fair to take up most of the time of Parliament; but given the make-up of the "representatives of the people," one way of killing time would seem to be as good as another. The Liberal Party, with Mr. Lloyd George's land taxation, has taken one timid little step in the direction of the purely capitalist form of taxation. Were it not that Liberal manufacturer and Tory landlord are so very much akin one could conceive even of such an "extreme" budget as would so heavily tax land as to bring Nationalisation within reach. This reform so much advocated by your pseudo-Socialist of the I.L.P. and S.D.P., were it achieved, would, however, still leave the land at the disposal of the capitalist manufacturer and capitalist farmer, because of their power to outbid the workers in the payment of State rentals, so that the pretence of "land reform" we have heard so much of lately from the Liberal Press might well go much further without changing the relative positions of capitalists and wage-workers, and consequently the proposals, after all the fuss, resolve themselves simply into the question of how to pay for Dreadnoughts and other means of destruction and of class domination.

The taxation proposals, generally, are rather cuted down up, and much ostentatious "fairness to all classes" is paraded. Your average non-Socialist workman, if he has for the time being to pay a bit more for his smokes, has the satisfaction of feeling that he is not robbing his master, at least, and of course duly appreciates Mr. Lloyd George's kind consideration in not overlooking him when presenting his little bill. Judging from the protestations of the Liberal Press one must conclude that the Liberal Party is, after all, the real best friend of the brewers. Are not they to reap many millions in additional profits as a result of the new taxation? The *Daily News* and the rest of them provide complicated calculations demonstrating as much and these good people should know.

Meanwhile be it noted that the Labour Party is, as might be expected, duly helping to vote the capitalist class, through the Liberal Government, the means (upkeep of armed forces, judiciary, etc.) with which to maintain its class domination. Keir Hardie and his colleagues support this "Socialistic budget" of their friends the Liberals. They would not be enjoying the opportunity and fulfilling their obligations were it not for the Liberal votes and often organised Liberal support with which they were elected to Parliament.

The Restrictions of Religion.

In a striking speech delivered on Tuesday night at Grosvenor House, at a meeting in support of the Bishop of London's Fund, which builds churches and schools in poor districts, the Bishop of London contrasted the condition of rich and poor in the Metropolis.

"If you left a million or two of poor people without the restrictions of religion you West End people would not take it so quietly as you do," said Dr. Winnington Ingram.—*Daily News*, May 13th.

"A striking speech"! It certainly is, for here we have the personal testimony of the High Priest of Christianity (in Britain) as to his and its aims and policy. The spectacle of the Bishop of London appealing to the West End for funds to build slum churches, and loosening their purse-strings by the ready admission that their peace of mind was largely secured by the "restrictions of religion" upon the poor is distinctly striking. The point involved is the political rôle of religion, and we have little need to go back to such incidents as the bribery of the Delphic Oracle, the assembly at Rome of the heathen gods of conquered tribes, or even the "glorious Reformation" for illustrations of the important part played by religion in politics.

Wonderfully ready have the dominant classes in diverse countries been to recognise the usefulness of the "restrictions of religion," and equally ready has the Church been to play the masters' game. The present instance proves that "Age has not withered nor custom staled Her infinite duplicity." Posing as the friend of the toiling masses, building schools and churches in our midst, Her bishops are busy among the parasites who live on our backs, pointing out that the "restrictions of religion" are keeping the workers docile, which is certainly worth a trifl. The Church is equally ready to preach "Thou shalt not kill" and "Blessed are the peacemakers," as to bless the khaki clad men with knives in their hands, who go at the behest of a government class to slit the throats of their fellows.

The Salvation Army, that resort of the mentally halt and palsied, has performed signal service to the capitalist class. They have saved them at least a little mental worry by taking shiploads of "superfluous" workers over to Canada and so partially relieving the situation here and helping to bring down wages there. The "fallen woman," that typically capitalist production, is also a concern of the "Army's." She is looked after in a home until a situation can be found for her, and in consequence of her having been guilty of the abominable crime of motherhood without a license, she has to accept a lower wage than she would otherwise. The S.A., by its clearing up the social wreckage, its doss-houses, soup kitchens, labour bureaux, emigration schemes, etc., keeps the working class content, or at least in passive discontent, and—"General" Booth is received by the King, is given the freedom of cities, his emigration dodge receives official recognition and approval. In Paddington the "Army" is allowed to take up collections without a police permit, whilst the Socialist Party is prosecuted for the same offence.

The capitalist class is fully aware of the judicious use to which religious chloriform can be put, and how ready the religionists are to serve their own and their masters ends even if it involves the jettisoning of the very principles which are supposed to be responsible for their existence. It only remains for the working class to refuse to be duped, and, not singling out the Church for isolated attack, to see to it that the "shaven and shorn" sulphur distributors go down in the final ruck with their unholy paymasters.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**RECEIVED—**

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Evening Call" (New York)
- "Labor" (St. Louis)
- "The Keel" (Tyneside)
- "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago)
- "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "The Flame" (Broken Hill)
- "Freedom" (London)
- "Anglo Russian" (London)
- "Rifleshot" (London)

**BURNLEY BRANCH,
S. P. G. B.****PROPAGANDA MEETINGS .**
HELD IN THE
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY
EVENING AT 7.30.

POLICE & SOCIALISTS.
—
A PADDINGTON EXPERIENCE.

As is generally known, it has for some time been necessary for anyone taking up a collection at most street-corner meetings in London to first obtain a permit from the Chief Commissioner of Police; but as this appeared to be simply a means of preventing the obtaining of money by false pretences, there seemed little harm in it. The experience of the Paddington Branch, however, shows there is more in it than meets the eye. For long the branch had been granted permission to make collections at their meeting opposite the "Prince of Wales," but toward the end of last year this permission was withdrawn without a reason being given. The branch reported the matter to the Executive of the Party, which instructed the comrades to take up collections in spite of the police and to see if anything happened.

After months of hesitation on the part of the police, our comrade Wilson was summoned for having, as requested by the branch, taken up a collection without a permit, and Mr. Plowden, at the Marylebone Police Court, fined him the maximum penalty of 40s. and costs. From the opening of the proceedings the issue was never in doubt. Special counsel represented Scotland Yard, but apart from the technical point of the infringement of the police regulation his only point was that complaint had been made regarding the number of meetings held at the spot in question. No reason was given for the sudden refusal of a permit, and our comrade, in a plucky defence, drove this point home. The magistrate, however, told him that the Commissioner was not bound to give any reason—he acted entirely at his own discretion. The constable who brought the charge had reported Wilson as saying that so long as the Salvation Army were allowed to take a collection at the same spot and on the same day, they (the Socialists) were going to take up collections also. This remark was made, not by Wilson, but by another member of the audience, and our comrade pointed this out. The magistrate, however, by his remarks and his manner during our comrade's brief statement, showed that he had already decided the case. His attitude appeared to be "say what you like, bring what witnesses you like, prove what you like; I'm going to fine you." When our comrade asked permission to call a witness the magistrate blandly told him he could call who he liked, but "to prove what?" In face of such an attitude our comrade saw that to proceed further would be to waste his time, and he therefore closed his case with the result already stated.

Wilson, of course, admitted that he knew of the police regulation when he took up the collection, but pointed out that the Salvation Army took collections unmolested at the same spot, and that since no reason was or could be given for the refusal of a permit he desired to test the matter and to expose in that court the unfairness of the police. We have known all along that "the law is a buss," but the present case shows a curious muddle. The Socialist Party is granted a permit to take collections in some parts of London; in other parts the police state that no permit is required, and in Paddington a permit is refused without a reason and a member who acted as collector is prosecuted. Yet at the same spot, as the police do not deny, a religious organisation takes collections without a permit openly and unmolested. Though the police gave no reason for their discrimination between the organisations we can supply it. It is because one is Socialist while the other is part of capitalism's "moral police," and is dear to the capitalist's heart precisely because it endeavours to reconcile the workers to their slavery and keep them duped and servile and broken. In other words, it is because there is a class struggle.

F. C. W.

The history class held until Easter at Laburnham House, Battersea, will be resumed on Friday June 11 at 8 p.m., and continued every alternate Friday. Several new features, such as skeleton speeches and articles for prospective speakers and writers, will be introduced.—H. J. N.

**SOAP, SOCIALISM,
AND T. P. O'CONNOR.**

Port Sunlight has been the subject of comment in our columns before, but there still remains much that can be usefully discussed in connection with the model suburb which graces one bank of the Mersey. One of the most curious facts concerning it is, that people will insist upon regarding the place as the outcome of the bubbling benevolence of Mr. Lever, and this in spite of the frequent disclaimers of the man who should know most about it—Mr. Lever himself. Time and again has he asserted that no feeling of philanthropy prompted his erection of Port Sunlight, but that, on the contrary, the scheme was dictated by sound business principles. That the principles were sound, the commercial success of Lever Bros. renders self-evident. Yet Port Sunlight is not without its lessons.

"Labour and Housing at Port Sunlight" is the title of a newly published book by W. L. George, and those of us who have neither time nor perhaps inclination to pay "Leverton" a visit, can by the aid of Mr. George's book form some sort of opinion as to its merits and demerits. One need not even waste one's substance in purchasing the book, for Mr. T. P. O'Connor has obligingly descended upon it at some length in the issues of his "Weekly" for March 19th and 26th. Apart from the feeling of nausea that T.P.'s own sloppy comment inspires, the articles are worth a perusal. Here is an example of T.P.'s comment. "On almost every window sill you see proof of that inner grace of spirit and of domestic idealism in boxes of flowers." Lower down in the same column—"the keeping of the gardens is not an individual but a corporate duty. At first they were left to the care of the individual owner, but it was found that the system did not work, and that the plots were diverted to chicken-runs, and even dustbins." So that it would seem that "grace of spirit" and "domestic idealism" were equal to the circumscribed area of a window box, but when offered the latitude of a garden plot could only find expression in chicken-runs and dustbins! One is inclined to think that T.P. has sacrificed sense for sonorousness.

Another instance, T.P. laments that the girls he saw in the United States were scrappy, yellow-skinned, mere rags of that being of grace and beauty which a woman ought to be. "It wasn't because the girls didn't have wages enough to pay for good food; it was sheer ignorance, the childlessness that girls often retain even when they have got to womanhood—above all, the want of organisation and of some fine, kindly, and practical spirit such as he who presides over the destinies of Port Sunlight." Fine wind-up to that sentence. He speaks of the stupid, childish way in which the hard-worked girls took their food. It consisted of everything that was childish and unwholesome—sweets, ice-creams, puff-tarts and then perhaps pickles. And T.P. opines that this state of things is owing to ignorance—sheer childish ignorance. Not a word about the physical and mental condition of a girl who has done a day on the linotype, in a dressmaker's den, or in a soap-works. He does not ask why a "fine, kindly spirit" employs girls at all when hundreds of men with families dependent upon them tramp the streets in search of a master. But we know. It is because he is not only "fine and kindly," but also extremely "practical." How does Mr. Lever deal with the feeding of his slaves? On the very practical principle of "the better the pasture the better the milk." A girl can have an excellent meal for fourpence, and can eat to repletion for fivepence in the Hulme Hall, so kindly provided by the "fine, kindly spirit," etc., Mr. Lever. Dear old T.P. observes, "This hall is run by the firm and it pays its way—which is all that is wanted from the most Gradgrind point of view, for well-fed workpeople are far more productive for their employer than those who are underfed or unhealthy fed." As is so often the case when one considers the problem, the interest of the employer and the employee is identical, though how comparatively few of either class recognise that dominating fact. After which there does not appear to be much to be said—but one can think a lot.

Mr. Lever then explained briefly another enabling influence which had been brought to bear upon the Sunlighters—the co-partnership scheme. "No words of his would be sufficiently weighty to express the great importance of the scheme on the future of the business. They would then have what they had always looked forward to—a feeling of brotherhood and partnership in that great undertaking. It was not enough to have benefit funds, and nice houses. They wanted the direct personal responsibility which this scheme gave. He had always been opposed to profit-sharing, and was yet, but he felt that in giving certificates which would be perfectly valueless unless the business continued to prosper and to make more than 5 per cent, to the ordinary shareholder, in putting it on that footing and in making a man realise that the value of the certificates depended upon his own efforts and the united efforts of all the employees—he felt that they had been able to link loss sharing with profit-sharing, and it seemed to him that was past the wit of man to adopt any other scheme with their employees. He com-

mended the scheme most strongly to their favourable consideration (applause.)"

Comment is almost superfluous.

Co-partnership was dealt with in a recent issue of this paper, and was effectually shown to be a hollow sham from the point of view of the worker. Note in the above that the certificates are valueless unless the business makes over 5 per cent. to the ordinary shareholders, and that their value depends upon the strenuousness of the individual undergoing the Christianising process. Are we to gather that when the Sunlighter has been educated up to the highest possible efficiency, strenuousness, and productivity (to his employer) then has he, or she, got back to the "close family brotherhood that existed in the good old days of hand labour"? Are we to understand that the effort to Christianise business relations has been successful? If so we are inclined to think the claims of paganism have been neglected. If this represents the family brotherhood of the good old days of hand labour, then we cease to wonder why Columbus went in search of a new world.

It is just as true of Port Sunlight as it was shown to be of Bournville in a recent issue that the benevolence of the capitalist is akin to the "hail, fellow, well met!" of the professional sharper, who heartily grips you with his right hand while he goes through your pockets with his left. The *Daily Chronicle* representative who visited Krupp's model village at Essen was no less struck with the beauty and order prevailing there than with the fact that all their apparent advantages were so many chains binding the employees to the firm—chains wrapped in cotton wool. The pension funds, privilege tickets, cheap houses, co-operative stores, etc. of the railways have the same object in view, besides incidentally cheapening the cost of living of the worker, and thus enabling him to exist on a comparatively small wage.

However, the lesson is there: it remains for the proletariat to learn it—and act. Do not lose sight of the inevitable consequences of efficiency and strenuousness—the much-belauded capitalist virtues. Remember that even if a single capitalist controlled the soap market, or any other market of the world, his production will always be limited by the capacity of that market. The more efficient you are the greater the amount of wealth you will be able to produce. The more strenuous you become the sooner you flood the market. The harder you work the quicker you get the sack and the sooner do your energies fail and you become too old. Simple reasoning, isn't it? If you think it is sound, join our Party and tell your friends. If you don't, keep out and tell us. WILFRED.

BOOK REVIEW.

"The Small Holder's Guide." London, W. H. & C. Collingridge, 1s.

The dominant note of this brochure is, if not exactly pessimistic, at least one of persistent warning. That this is as it should be the present writer can affirm upon the authority of that safest of all authorities—practical, personal experience. The miserable conditions of modern life, bereft as it is of every vestige of rationality, necessarily breed their own rebels. It may be counted a sort of atavism nowadays to hunger for the fresh air and rural calm, but anyway, many eyes, weary of the rushing shapes in this mad gambol, turn longingly out to the broader horizon in the vain hope that there they may find seclusion from capitalist sorrow. Vain hope, I say, for experience, economic knowledge, and this little book all combine to prove that capitalism chases us everywhere. I won't say there is no possibility of existence upon the land, but one first has to pay the price, in the way of drudgery and pinching before the means of attempting are accumulated. And having paid the price, the most that is offered, even to the successful, is a life of unending toil, not by any means free from anxiety, and rewarded only by the privilege of "planning his own work and managing his own business." We could hardly have appraised personal liberty higher. The most optimistic section of this useful volume is that concerning bees (exploitation again). The "surplus-value" exuded by these busy insects appears to be so great that one is tempted to beg, borrow or steal a bee and make a start. A. E. J.

THE "GREAT MAN" FALLACY.

In certain circles one becomes so accustomed to hearing Carlyle cited as an infallible authority, especially on matters social and economic, that it requires some temerity to attack his teachings. In those discussion classes and mutual improvement societies connected with the Sunday schools in our towns and cities, the very name of Thomas Carlyle seems to effectually smother one's opponent in controversy. And it is amazing that in many "Socialist" clubrooms photographs of Carlyle and Ruskin adorn the walls as if these "literary gents" were not merely democrats, but even revolutionary Socialists.

What, then, is the gospel according to Carlyle? It is that history with its dynastic and class struggles, progress—mental and moral, great nations, important discoveries; all is the work of a few individual clever men. I quote from "Hero Worship." "Universal History, the history of what has been accomplished in this world, is at the bottom the history of the Great Men who have worked here. They were the leaders of men, these great ones; the modellers, patterners, and in a wide sense creators of whatsoever the general mass of men contrived to do or to attain; all things that we see standing accomplished in the world are properly the outer material result, the practical realisation and embodiment, of thoughts that dwelt in the Great Men sent into the world: the soul of the whole world's history, it may justly be considered, were the history of these."

But there is nothing scientific in attributing history to the work of a few great men. History, according to Carlyle, is but the biography of the great men who have lived in the world. The real problem is: why have certain races qualities, virtues, vices, talents and institutions which other races lack? And history is of utility only when it ceases to be graphically descriptive or effusively personal, and attempts to explain the working of those deeper seated economic and physical forces which mould human society.

Great men and even mighty empires are of little import when compared with the working of these powerful economic and physical forces.

Buckle, in his "History of Civilisation" has dealt with physical factors. He lucidly proves the great influence of climate, soil, and the general aspect of nature, showing how the huge empires of India, Assyria, Egypt and Peru were created in luxuriantly fertile regions on the banks of large, navigable rivers. The difference between the Laplander and the Hindu, the Spaniard and the Anglo-Saxon, can to a certain extent be explained by their physical environments. The industrial habits, the religious conceptions, and the mental life of different races of humans can only be accounted for by admitting the potency of varying environments.

Lewis Morgan, in his work on Ancient Society, has shown the importance of the economic factor. Man is the only creature that can manufacture tools and thus create new environments entirely undreamt of by the tool discoverers. We sometimes say that economic amelioration is the direct cause of moral improvement. Take these four factors: the discovery of cereals (wheat, maize, etc.), the domestication of animals, the use of stone and brick in architecture, the discovery of the manifold uses to which iron can be put—take these few discoveries, and it is not too much to say, that once existing, the battle for civilisation, for power over nature, was won. Says Morgan: "The discovery of the process of smelting iron ore was the discovery of discoveries in human experience, without a parallel, besides which all other inventions and discoveries are insignificant." And if one ponders over the place which iron occupies in our every-day life we can see that Morgan hardly over-stated the case.

It is probable that humans ceased to eat captives taken in battle not from any moral betterment, but from the fact that it was more lucrative to make them labour for their captors. Slavery thus succeeded cannibalism. This new institution, slavery, radically altered ancient society; it created an aristocratic class living off the labour of the slave, a class with leisure, and

by means of that leisure art, science, and literature were cultivated. But I cannot labour this point. Suffice it here to say that as new methods of production were born, as slavery became feudalism and feudalism became capitalism, important social and moral changes also took place.

A favourite subject in debating societies is: what would be the present condition of England if Napoleon had won the battle of Waterloo, or Europe if William the Norman had lost the battle of Hastings, or of European civilisation if the Greeks had been beaten at Salamis? These questions carry us into the heart of the question of genius and its effect upon social and economic conditions. Carlyle, of course, would answer: without the existence of these mighty men the history of the world must have taken different channels, their influence was incalculable. The Socialist, however, will say: it mattered little to the mass of the people, the working class, whether Napoleon won or was soundly thrashed at Waterloo. National boundaries to-day might be slightly or greatly different, but it is probable that the application of steam power to manufacture would have been the same, and this application caused a revolution more radical and permanent than any ever made by a mighty warrior. Napoleon was beaten at Waterloo, and we are surrounded by social and economic inequality and injustice. Had he won we should still be living in a capitalist state—and one need not say more than this. For the working class that great battle did not mean a higher or a lower standard of living, but, as was usual with all such conflicts, it implied: which nation shall be the paramount buccaneer? For is not capitalism making uniform the lives of the working class in all countries? As Hervé has so well put it, "There is at present no country so superior to any other that its working class should get themselves killed in its defence."

Let us take, for instance, those great improvements in machine production which were the gift of the nineteenth century to progress, and we shall see the fallacies involved in Carlyle's heroic theory. Modern spinning machinery is said by Hobson to be a combination of about eight hundred inventions. And necessity is the mother of invention. The inventor must live in a suitable age, he must be adapted, in harmony with his environment. Lord Lytton in his historical novel "The Last of the Barons" gives us a living picture of an inventor who was born, as we say, before his time. This work is based on events which occurred in the fifteenth century. It shows the inevitable failure of the inventor of a machine in such an age, before a population of workers divorced from the land, and before the spirit of "economic rationalism," the desire to invest money to make money, had been born. As Lytton puts it: "The grim age devours ever those before, as behind, its march; and confounds in one common doom the too guileless and the too wise."

To Alexander the "Great" the position he obtained meant a development of his faculties and the possibility of exercising his talents which otherwise might have lain dormant. The position of a powerful king or a privileged class might allow the cultivation of intellectual charm or physical beauty by a chosen few. But Lincoln well said that no man is good enough to be another's master without the other's consent. There is no such thing as a good despotism. What are dubbed good despots are viler than bad ones, for without making for stable or genuine progress, they create a flabby, servile people, devoid of initiative or activity. No permanent progress can be made except by improving the common human material. Democracy is the only possible method of preventing a single "great" man from becoming, by a union of talent and opportunity and ambition, a good or bad despot, a terrible source of oppression. But even despots can only reign long when they correctly represent the interests of a dominant class. Socialism is the only possible method of preventing a class from monopolising the great machinery of wealth production, and perverting science and the arts to their own ends. And Socialism would not eliminate genius. It would merely prevent humans of genius and those super-privileged men of talent whom we have often mistaken for such, using any class as a milch cow from which to extract "economic rent."

JOHN A. DAWSON.

nature. It is the minute agents, unresting and wide-spread, that have been the efficient causes of much that is grandest in earth structure." So in social history. Mallock has recently said that the working class is not underpaid but wontonly overpaid, because, forsooth, the manual labourer as such is no more efficient than he was in Roman times. The growth of productive power, of course, is due to the *elite*, the mental and moral few, the real aristocracy! But why return to Roman times? Why not to our quasi-simian forerunners? Surely *they*, houseless, without tools or the knowledge of fire, were in the position the workers deserve to be in to-day—would be in but for the spontaneous initiative and all-round mentality of our monopolisers of "directive ability." But Marx's wonderful chapter on Co-operation dissolves the sophistries of Mallock. "It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist." Truly the capitalist is not a great man, he is not a monopolist of ability; he simply has that peculiar mental and moral twist which adapts him to modern economic conditions.

The teaching of Carlyle, that we hold certain ideas of economics and morality because of the influence of individual clever men, is now pre-dominant and taught in our schools. We know how history is written. It is the deification of the Empire builder, the mighty king, the great statesman. It is worship without limit. The old historians could not descend to discuss social conditions and ordinary events. Minute descriptions of the personal habits of the great king, his likes and dislikes, the contour of his features, the colour of his hair—this makes up our school history. The stage is occupied with gorgeous display, while the mainspring, the common human machinery in the background, the fret and toil of ordinary humans which makes the servile show possible, is ignored as too obscure and petty to chronicle. When I read the history of Greece I am not impressed by the oratory of Demosthenes or the statesmanship of Pericles. But I note that Corinth alone contained slaves by the thousand dozen, and I ask: what was the economic condition of this class? what did they know of science or art or literature? Dickens has spoken of men and women who all go in and out at the same hours, to do the same work; people to whom every day is the same as yesterday and tomorrow, and every year the counterpart of the last and the next. These are the people history should speak to us about, and not of depraved parvenus and braggart buffoons of royal descent. Then I say to every working man and woman: before you read the life of Cicero or Aristotle or Julius Caesar, before you become immersed in trivial biography, study well the conditions of life and labour of your social ancestors in Greece, in Rome, in the middle ages. The proper study of a working man is working-class conditions.

To Alexander the "Great" the position he obtained meant a development of his faculties and the possibility of exercising his talents which otherwise might have lain dormant. The position of a powerful king or a privileged class might allow the cultivation of intellectual charm or physical beauty by a chosen few. But Lincoln well said that no man is good enough to be another's master without the other's consent. There is no such thing as a good despotism. What are dubbed good despots are viler than bad ones, for without making for stable or genuine progress, they create a flabby, servile people, devoid of initiative or activity. No permanent progress can be made except by improving the common human material. Democracy is the only possible method of preventing a single "great" man from becoming, by a union of talent and opportunity and ambition, a good or bad despot, a terrible source of oppression. But even despots can only reign long when they correctly represent the interests of a dominant class. Socialism is the only possible method of preventing a class from monopolising the great machinery of wealth production, and perverting science and the arts to their own ends. And Socialism would not eliminate genius. It would merely prevent humans of genius and those super-privileged men of talent whom we have often mistaken for such, using any class as a milch cow from which to extract "economic rent."

JOHN A. DAWSON.

THE FORUM.
SOME OPEN DISCUSSIONS.

CONCERNING VALUE AND PRICE.
12, Elizabeth-street, Salford.
12.5.09.

Dear Sir,—Being desirous of a sound knowledge of Marx's "Capital," would you enlighten me on a few points? It is regarding Value, Price, and Profit. I can follow the theory as explained, but am unable to fit it to existing cases. Marx says: The Value of commodity is the respective quantity of Labour embodied in it. Price is the monetary expression of its Value, which, when realised, should be due to the Labourer. He, however, only receives a portion of this price for the whole of his labour-power, the other portion is confiscated by the exploiter as *surplus-value*. Now is this theory actually carried out? Take a case in point; a pair of boots are sold by the manufacturer to the wholesaler at a certain price, by the wholesaler to the retailer at another price, and by the latter to the consumer at still another price. How do the various dealers arrive at the prices? I have asked several business men their method of fixing the prices, and all say *cover cost of labour, etc., then add percentages for wholesale, retail, etc.* A friend of mine produced a patent article. I asked him how he was arranging the retail price of this commodity. He informed me that it would be manufactured at 3d. and retailed at 3s. 6d., the difference between cost and retail prices being distributed between manufacturer, wholesale dealer, retailer, and royalty for himself. This is a sample of modern methods as I know them. According to Marx 3s. 6d. is its real value, or cost of production. Again, how do you account for a certain brand of article being retailed at different establishments within a quarter of a mile of each other at 10s. 6d. and 8s. 11d. respectively? Again, an article is sold within a mile of the factory at 10*d.*, and at a minor establishment 20 miles away for 8*d.*, and no gap of time intervening to allow for a slump.

Yours, H. HARRISON.

Our correspondent's difficulty seems to be, is Price the monetary expression of the Value of commodities in fact, as well as in theory. The real significance of this, of course, is that the enquirer challenges the correctness of the theory, for a theory is merely a scientific explanation of facts, and, though to be able to apply it to facts does not necessarily prove it right, if it is incapable of such application (as distinct from our ability to apply it), then the theory must be wrong.

Now the term "expression" must be taken in its algebraic sense, as meaning a sign or symbol of quantity. This being so, the Price of a commodity is a sign in money of its value—a sign, that is, of the amount of Labour embodied in it. The argument, of course, so far, is unsound; for, as Mr. Harrison points out, equal values are sold at very unequal prices, and, as he might have pointed out, the price of a pair of boots at Northampton does not tell us if there is embodied in them the Labour of bringing them from America, or merely from the next street.

But Marx deserves closer attention, friend Harrison, and that would reveal that he safeguards his theory with several conditions. The labour is to be socially necessary human labour, such labour, that is, as is generally necessary to produce and present to the purchaser the kind and quality of commodity in question, under the prevailing conditions of production. Price, also, is to be taken over an extended period, so that fluctuations may cancel one another. A further condition is to presuppose the general environment of commodities—a free, competitive market.

The statement now runs "The Price of a commodity, taken over an extended period, and presuming the unrestricted play of competition, is the sign or symbol of the quantity of socially necessary human labour embodied in it." This is another way of saying that commodities exchange at their value, and as this is evidently the theory our correspondent is trying to reconcile with every-day experience, we may, having set our house in order, turn to his examples.

"How do the various dealers arrive at the prices?" By the very simple process of getting each as much as he can. It takes two to make a bargain, you know, and the question is not so much arriving at a price as getting it. Ask your business men why they don't double their "percentages for wholesale, retail, etc." Ask them why they draw any line at all. They will be forced to admit that competition compels them to fix their prices with both eyes on the other fellow. If they work upon the system of "covering cost of labour and adding percentages," that is only because they must have a system, and that system is as good as another. But how if one of them secures some exceptional advantage—exclusive access to some labour-saving machine? He at once abandons the system, and lowers his prices only sufficiently to capture the market. That the exchange is effected on the basis of value is not due to human calculation, but to the nature of things. Think! every sale is an exchange of two commodities. The holder of the boots and the holder of the gold face each other on an exactly equal footing. X of boots is just as much the expression of value of Y of gold as Y of gold is of X of boots. The holder of the gold "arrives" at a price just as much as the holder of boots, and departs as reluctantly from it when he finds the market against him. Thus each facing the other with like determination to get the most possible for his commodity, and with like desire to become possessed of his opponents commodity, who or what is to hold the balance between them? Clearly the condition of the market. A scarcity of boots, etc., then adds percentages for wholesale, retail, etc. A friend of mine produced a patent article. I asked him how he was arranging the retail price of this commodity. He informed me that it would be manufactured at 3d. and retailed at 3s. 6d., the difference between cost and retail prices being distributed between manufacturer, wholesale dealer, retailer, and royalty for himself. This is a sample of modern methods as I know them. According to Marx 3s. 6d. is its real value, or cost of production. Again, how do you account for a certain brand of article being retailed at different establishments within a quarter of a mile of each other at 10s. 6d. and 8s. 11d. respectively? Again, an article is sold within a mile of the factory at 10*d.*, and at a minor establishment 20 miles away for 8*d.*, and no gap of time intervening to allow for a slump.

So traders do not arrive at prices by "covering cost of labour, etc., and adding percentages," (though they may think they do,) but by putting on all they think the market will bear. Regarding the varying prices of wholesalers, retailers, etc., our correspondent is enjoined to remember that there are wholesale and retail markets, and that the passage through these of the average commodity is socially necessary underexisting conditions. This is not accomplished without the consumption of further labour-power, which, purchased at its cost of production (in labour time), in its expenditure creates more than it costs to produce, and so continues to yield surplus-value every step of the necessary journey from the factory to the consumer.

Directly we come into contact with patented articles, of course, we leave behind the condition of unrestricted competition, for the very essence of a patent is protection from competition. Nevertheless, in the instance given, there does not appear to be any startling discrepancy in the proportionate distribution and that Socialists claim obtains throughout the industrial world, especially considering that after leaving the factory the article has to be the subject of the expenditure of further labour-power before it rests its weary head in peace upon the bosom of the consumer. It is possible that, in spite of the protection of "patent rights," 3s. 6d. is its real value, or cost of production," measured in units of averagely efficient, socially necessary labour time, as our correspondent should not have neglected to state.

The instances of discrepancies in prices given by our friend show nothing more than that he is trying to make the broad law of exchange cover exceptional cases. In the struggle for trade many examples may be found of instances which utterly confound one who attempts to fit them to any theory. These, however, by no means show that the theory that Price is the monetary expression of value, under the given conditions, is not true in every-day life.

A. E. J.

MR. GARVEY'S DIFFICULTIES.

Mr. Edwin Garvey writes thanking us for our courteous and explicit reply to his queries, and stating that his only remaining doubt is that "the workers may not, in the course of a few years, have the overwhelming majority of votes they have to-day." He claims that they live from two to twelve families in a house, and are a "floating populace, rarely ever holding a vote," in view of which he thinks political action could not secure control of the political machine. Our correspondent thinks that therefore the only course open to the workers to secure their eman-

cipation lies in the General Strike. He asks if an alternative policy of concentrating upon Adult Suffrage would not be advantageous.

As our correspondent does not inform us of the extent of his experience we are unable to judge the value of same. It is quite true that certain sections of the working class are more of a floating population to-day than in years gone by, but this is not only not true of all the working class, but in the near future will not be true for a large portion of those "floating" to-day. The reason is simple. Combination among the large capitalists in various industries often results in a rearrangement of the factories and plants owned by such concerns. Certain works are closed down and others more favourably situated for their particular business are enlarged, or new ones built. This may occur without a combination taking place when a firm extends its sphere of operations. Thus Humbers, Ltd., have closed their old Beeston works and centralised their business in huge new factories in Coventry. The L. & S.W.R. Railway are removing their locomotive works from Nine Elms (London) to Eastleigh in Hampshire, where they have already a large carriage factory. In these two cases there will be an increase in the number of relatively permanent working-class residents in these two districts. Other examples may be given, as Bourneville and Port Sunlight. During the period capitalist combination is reaching its apex the "floating" portion of the working class will continue to exist, but in steadily decreasing numbers owing to the higher centralisation of industry, and the grouping of particular industries in special places.

This, of course, will not apply to the whole of the working class, though it will cover a large proportion. Our correspondent's fear on this point is therefore groundless. His alternative of the General Strike has been partly answered by our former reply. We assume that by "General Strike" he means practically the whole of the workers ceasing work. If they did that how would they live? The workers' resources are almost nil—the capitalist class has control of such stores as are in existence, and there being fewer of them, they could easily live while the workers were starved into submission. How this method could succeed in emancipating the working class we are unable to say. With reference to the last point our correspondent must remember that while the capitalists have control of Parliament it is they who decide what measures shall become law. Apart from matters in their own interests they will only give way on certain points when they are afraid of the workers' growing consciousness of their own position. Adult Suffrage has been advocated since the Chartist movement, and is little nearer to-day than then. A growing agitation by the working class for Socialism would bring this and similar concessions from the capitalists in a tyke of the time already wasted on such things. For in their growing fear they would throw sop after sop in their attempt to stem the flowing tide. Hence we preach Socialism and Socialism alone as the only hope of the working class. J. F.

Mr. Joynson-Hicks, M.P., speaking at the annual meeting of the Church Pastoral Aid Soc. on May 6th, was sorry to see the anti-Christian propaganda that was going on under the name of Socialism. He did not refer to the sloppy kind of sentimentalism called Christian Socialism, but to the real, genuine article of Karl Marx. One can understand why Christian "Socialists" do not concern him. They are quite safe under the care of their shepherds. It is the "Atheistic" Socialists who disturb the peace of mind of Mr. Joynson-Hicks and his kind. He may be told here that there is no other brand of Socialism than the "Atheistic" brand.

Socialism can only come with the downfall of capitalism, and since "capital" and "God" are almost synonymous to-day, the gentleman argues that "the real, genuine article of Karl Marx" is atheistic an interesting example of arriving at a correct conclusion by unsound reasoning. J. A. B.

We have received copies of the annual reports of the Public Library authorities of Dundee and Brighton. We note that the *Socialist Standard* appears in both periodical lists.

June 1st, 1909.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	J. Fitzgerald	J. H. Halls	J. E. Roe
"	7.30	F. Joy	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Chelsea, World's End	11.30	F. Joy	J. E. Roe	F. Leigh
Earlsfield, Penwith Road	11.30	E. Fairbrother	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Clapham Common	3.30	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald	J. H. Halls
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald	E. Fairbrother
Kennington Triangle	11.30	H. Martin	H. Newman	H. Newman
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	J. Kennett	F. Dawkins	A. Reginald
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. C. Watts	F. Leigh	G. Smith
Peckham Triangle	7.30	J. E. Roe	H. Newman	T. W. Allen
Tooting Broadway	11.30	T. W. Allen	J. Crump	H. Martin
"	7.30	F. Joy	F. Leigh	A. Barker
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30	H. Newman	A. Anderson	H. Newman
"	7.30	A. W. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald	J. Kennett
Watford, Market Place	7.30	J. H. Halls	A. Anderson	A. Anderson
West Ham, Boleyn Tavern	11.30	F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. Leigh
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	A. W. Pearson	H. King	F. W. Stearn
"	7.30	F. W. Stearn	A. W. Pearson	G. Smith

MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Penwith Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Park, 8. Peckham, Bassano-st., 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—Peckham, Triangle, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Peckham, Collyer's-place, 8.30. Paddington, Victoria-nd., High-nd., Kilburn, 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Prince's Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Cr., 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Greengate, Plaistow, 8 p.m. Peckham, Lewisham Mkt., 8.30.**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

Some Lessons from the Paris Strike (*continued*). Federation issued a manifesto stating that the strike had failed of its object and advising its adherents to resume work also.

Naturally the leaders of the "direct action" campaign have, on the collapse of their policy, fallen to mutual recrimination, each blaming the other for the fatal result. But the Socialist is in no quandary as to causes. The Syndicalist policy could have had no other result. Apathy and disgust are the usual consequences of a false policy and false tactics when their falsity is discovered, and it is fortunate that the experience of the French workers, bitter though it may be, is awakening them to the worthlessness of Anarchistic "direct action." For such a policy, if its falsity be undiscovered, can lead the workers but to the shambles or starvation.

But they will not allow their fit of apathy to hold them long. They will draw the plain lessons from their experience. That they are already doing so is evident. The French trade union movement, though weak and fitful, is nevertheless making strides toward the sound, democratic class organisation that husbands its resources for effective resistance to capitalist encroachment. While the curse of the leader and the phrasemonger is got rid of as it can only be got rid of by Socialist teaching; for when the workers understand their true policy the leader, like Othello, will find his occupation gone. But the lesson, above all, that we as well as our French fellow workers must learn is the need for definitely Socialist action for the conquest of the powers of Government, for it is political power that keeps us in subjection. W.

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SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew St., Latchmere Estate, Battersea, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at S.P.G.B., Club, Laburnum House, 134, High Street, Battersea, S.W. Club open every evening.
BURNLEY.—G. H. Schofield, Sec., 77 Parliament-st., Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament-street.
CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.
EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 12, Burmester Rd., Tooting, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 8, at Bridgeman's Coffee Tavern, 1, Burton Rd., Garrett Lane, followed by discussion from 9 till 10. Public welcome.
EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.
FULHAM.—E. Fairbrother, Secretary, 1, Groton Rd., Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets every Monday at 8 Lockhart's, Walham Grn., followed by discussion. Public welcome.
ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secy. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-nd., Holloway, N.
MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 2, Temperance St., Hulme. Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m., at Lockharts, Oxford-st. (opposite Palace Theatre). Public admitted.
NOTTINGHAM.—F. Kneller, Sec., 27, Thurman-st., Hyson Green.
PADDINGTON.—Communications to Sec. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.30 p.m., at 2, Fernhead Rd., Harrow Rd.
PECKHAM.—J. Barringer, Sec., 115, Friern Rd., E. Dulwich. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.
ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m. at Club, Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.
STOKE NEWINGTON.—D. W. Fisher, Sec., 52, Petherton Rd., Canonbury, N. Branch meets first and third Mondays, 8 p.m. at 2, Dalston Lane (2nd floor).
TOOTING.—J. Lindsey, Sec., 173, Longley Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorringe Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.
TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m., at Sunbeam Coffee Tavern, 258, High Rd.
WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.
WEST HAM.—Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.
WOOD GREEN.—C. J. Morrison, Sec., 181, Moselle Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.30 at 2, Station Road, Wood Green.

THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS.

COPIES of the above four-part song—S., A., T., B.—complete with pianoforte accompaniment and Tonic-Solfia setting may be obtained, price 3d., or post free 3½d., through the branches or from the Head Office.

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

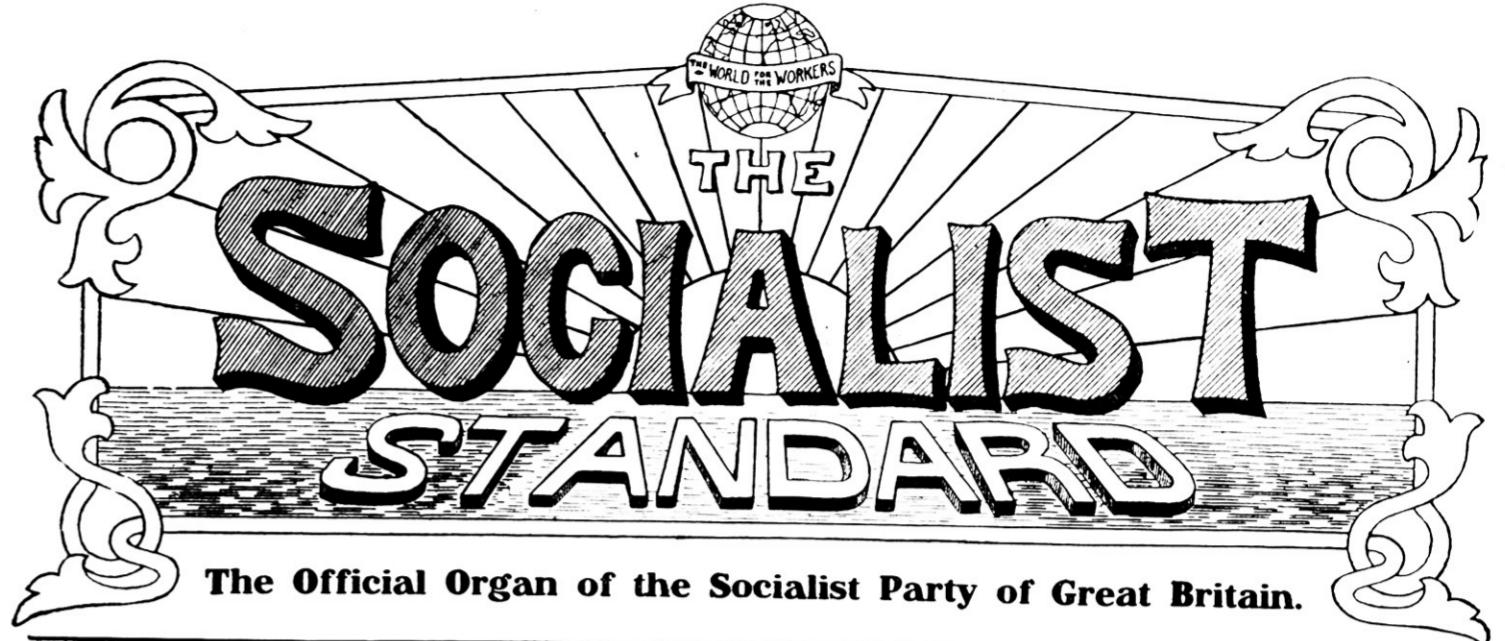
Signature.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 59. VOL. 5.]

LONDON, JULY 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

FIFTY YEARS OF "PROGRESS." A SOCIALIST EXAMINATION OF A CAPITALIST STATEMENT.

Flights Local Government Board, wherein, of we are told, the great prosperity of **Fancy**. of the worker since the introduction of Free Trade, is clearly shown. Wages have risen, prices have fallen, and that great social sore, pauperism, has decreased. In fact, after a perusal of the figures we are almost led to believe that within the next few years all the social evils that now afflict us will have been entirely eliminated, almost, that is, unless we happen to be in possession of further facts and figures.

We are informed by the *Daily Chronicle* that since 1849 the percentage of paupers to the population has decreased.

Now the total number of persons in receipt of poor relief during the year 1906 was 2,076,316. Every day during the year, taking the average, 251 per thousand of the population were in receipt of relief. While there has been a decrease since 1850 in the number of outdoor paupers, the number of indoor paupers has almost doubled. When referring to this question the Press were very careful to avoid giving an explanation of the decrease of outdoor pauperism. The cause was fully explained by "F. C. W." in the issue of March '06 *SOCIALIST STANDARD*, wherein he says: "The Poor Law was further strengthened by the Amendment Act of 1844, but it was not (says the "Encyclopædia Britannica") until 1867 that the local administration bodies took the matter up with much enthusiasm. The Pauper Inmate Act of 1871, and the Casual Poor Act of 1882, made conditions of relief more onerous by increasing the compulsory stay of vagrants and by other means. Ashcroft and Preston Thomas say in their work 'The English Poor Law System,' p. 285, 'The marked increase of indoor paupers (accompanied of course by a still more marked decrease of outdoor paupers until recently) is due to the movement beginning about 1865 in favour of the workhouse principle. It is clear that in the case of this class of paupers (able-bodied adults) it was mainly by the rigid enforcement of the workhouse test that this improvement was secured.'

There are now many other ways by which the workhouses are being relieved, such as, for instance, the Church Army and Salvation Army Homes, and Dr. Barnardo's Homes (which boast of having 8,000 children always under its care)

The Return table institutions dispensing to funds to the amount of ten **Naked Fact**. million pounds per annum.

When the Pauper Inmate Act and the Casual Poor Act had been in operation some time, there was another large increase in

pauperism. The "Twelfth Abstract of Labour Statistics" issued by the Board of Trade states that "on every day throughout the year 1892 the average number of persons in receipt of poor relief was 953,719, this number rising steadily each year with but very slight fluctuation to 1,103,724 in 1906, being an increase not only in the number but also relatively to the increase of population."

If the Majority Report of the Poor Law Commission is adopted and the suggested alterations in the Poor Law are enacted, then we shall again be told that pauperism is decreasing, while as a matter of fact the relief of the poor will have been transferred from public institutions to private charity, which we are told can be so developed and organised that out-door relief will become unnecessary.

Turning from the question of pauperism our attention is diverted to "the record of rising wages under Free Trade," as the *Daily Chronicle* has it.

Now it is true that there has been an increase in the rate of money wages, but that is no criterion of an actual rise in wages or of an increase in the purchasing power of the wages received. Turning again to the "Twelfth Abstract of Labour Statistics" we find that since 1895 (the first year for which comparative tables are given) the increase in the retail prices of the necessities of life, apart from the increase of house rent, which is by far the most important factor in the expenditure of the workers, has kept pace with the increase in the rate of wages, which is in many cases based upon the price paid per hour. But the same publication informs us that the number of hours worked per week have been greatly reduced, to say nothing of the increase of unemployment. So when we take all the facts into consideration we find instead of an increase in wages we have an absolute decrease.

The *Daily News* makes a very poor attempt to minimise the extent of the unemployed problem by attributing the great increase during 1908 to the engineering and ship-building disputes, and this in spite of the fact that the *Board of Trade and Labour Gazette* tells us in every issue, that persons on strike or locked out, sick or superannuated, are excluded from the figures.

The health of the workers is the next subject that confronts us. We are reminded that the number of cases arising from such diseases as enteric fever, diphtheria, small-pox, etc., have been greatly reduced, in fact some of them have actually been stamped out. If, then, there has been such a large decrease in this class of disease, we must ask the reason for the alarm of the friendly societies at the "enormous increase in the number of applicants for sick pay."

The *Evening News* of June 3rd asks "Are modern conditions of life undermining the general health of the working people of this country? Mere warnings of medical men," it continues, "unsupported by statistics, do not count as evidence, but the testimony of the great friendly societies which are in close and constant touch with the workers is a more weighty matter."

On this question Mr. J. Luther Green, president of the Hearts of Oak Benefit Society, says, "The matter is most serious and is causing the greatest concern to all friendly societies. . . . The causes of the alarming increase in sickness liabilities are probably to be found in the changed industrial conditions, the constancy of the evil of unemployment, the operation of the Compensation Act, and the increased pace and pressure of life. . . . Distress arising from unemployment has been especially noticeable during the past year. Cases have come under the notice of the committee where the sickness has been solely the result of unemployment. Distress is followed by privation and health must of necessity be impaired."

It appears that while the membership of the above society has increased, since 1903, 12½ per cent, the number of claims for sick pay has increased 24 per cent., and the amount paid in sick benefit by over 33 per cent., in spite of the adoption of more stringent methods to eliminate the fraudulent "invalids."

But the Hearts of Oak is only one of the many benefit societies, so we must take a broader view of the subject. Reviewing the returns of the 14 leading benefit societies we find an almost corresponding increase in sickness, and we agree with the president of the H.O.O. that the great increase is due to insufficient nourishment and the increased pace and pressure on the life of the worker. Every worker knows that the pace and pressure in the factories, workshops and offices is far greater to-day than it was even a few years ago, while the age at which he is thrown upon the industrial scrap-heap, when his vitality and energy have degenerated, is earlier; and so witnesses the record, in the Blue Book, of the great decrease in the number of persons employed over the age of 65.

With the speeding up of machinery and increasing pressure upon the worker grows the increase of sickness, insanity and the "accidents" upon the industrial field, the number of the latter in 1907 reaching the enormous total of 160,731, being almost double the figures for 1898. The number of fatal "accidents" rose from 3,810 in 1898 to 4,453 in 1907, and the number of non-fatal accidents increased from 79,633 in the former year to 150,278 in

the latter! a total far in excess of the combined British and Boer casualties in the late South African war.

The increasing development of capitalism renders it far more difficult for the worker to raise himself from the ranks of the wage-slaves until now it has become almost an impossibility even in individual cases.

The increase in unemployment and the longer period the worker is in the labour market, makes life ever more insecure. While in employment he is compelled, where possible, to deprive himself and family of many of the necessities of life in order to accumulate a little to tide over the ever-expected period of "out-of-work," an attempt that more often than not ends in failure.

In conclusion, then, and taking into consideration all the facts attending the position of the workers, we can safely say that instead of enjoying greater prosperity, their position in society continues on the downward grade, Liberal and Tory reformers notwithstanding. And so their only hope is in the complete change, the Revolution, i.e., Socialism.

H. A. YOUNG.

MY FRIEND JONES.

—o—

LIKE the printer in Ibsen's "Enemy of Society," I am a man of discreet moderation and of moderate discretion. I disclaim and abhor violence. I am one who is prepared to compromise with the enemy to obtain part of what I desire. When agitating for a specific loaf I am ready to accept either half the loaf or the promise of a quarter at some early future. Society is not composed of blacks and whites, or clear-cut classes of workers and shirkers, like my friend Jones imagines. I once thought that as he grew out of youth he would cast aside his perverse, impossible spirit. Society is an organism, a growth, a whole of which we humans are interdependent cells; and my politics and economics are not rigid, cut and dried doctrines, but flexible and fluid habits of mind. Let me give you a few examples of his ridiculous rigidity.

Our town boasts a successful debating society. Many of my Labour comrades entered this society with the avowed aim of cunningly permeating the debaters with a moderate, calm Socialism. Whatever the subject matter of the debate was we astutely endeavoured to show its relation to Socialism. Especially when the orthodox subject of State Socialism was dealt with by the enemy in the orthodox manner did we try our level best to show the society that the essayist was attacking a noxious and antiquated chimera. We were slowly compelling by superior logic, even our opponents to see that the old, rigid, unemotional, cataclysmic, class-struggle Socialism was un-English—Continental, in fact—and is now entirely discredited. I personally played a prominent part in showing how we attain Socialism step by step, now by the abolition of barmaids, now by Sunday closing of drinking dens, now by finite but ever increasing taxes on the value of land. The old view of the coming of Socialism, the expropriation of the expropriators, the stubborn opposition of the plutocracy, the determined democracy, the blood-red dawn of the Socialist Monday morning—all this I ruthlessly exposed by explaining how all successful modern exponents of Socialism believed in such a peaceful, lucid transition to Socialism that no one would be able to say that here at a definite stage capitalism capitulated, and here the Socialist Commonwealth was born.

Then up rose my friend Jones and to the very evident glee of the enemy attacked my moderate, permeating Socialism after the manner of his kind, brazenly, vigourously, and with the self-confidence peculiar to him. He poked fun at my "organic social movements" and substituted his hair-raising class war; he declared that the fantastic analogies of all the "philosophers" from Spencer to Macdonald were no adequate equivalent for the clear-drawn illustrations of the Marxian class struggle. He had no faith in the crux of our creed, that the social instincts of the plutocracy will prove more powerful than their class interests. He attacked bluntly every institution of any note whether political, charitable, or charitable-theological, from the Fabian Society to the Emigration Army. The Liberal leaders who would meet us half way were hum-

bugs, the Labour leaders had been humbugged. Palliatives postponed Socialism. Socialism spelt revolution, the deliberate, conscious overthrow of capitalism; the working class organised politically, with their representatives in Parliament, economically, in enlightened Socialist Trade Unions. In short, the work of months was undone. The society no longer accepts our assertion that revolutionary Socialism is cremated. We have, through the impulsive Jones, the onerous task of defending not simply a minimum wage, minimum of education, a minimum of leisure and the conduct of the Labour Party, but even now Socialism itself. I am afraid that we shall be compelled to cancel Jones' speaking engagements with our local Labour Representation Committee.

But the climax of my friend's political career came when he was our candidate at a municipal election. His election address was unpractical and doctrinaire; it lacked constructive spirit; it was brusque in dealing with some of the chief planks on our programme, viz., that we should have better railway facilities in one of our wards, and that the recreation ground was in want of repairs. And when but three days from the poll he rashly alienated the Nonconformist and Salvation Army votes. "General" Booth had just previously passed through the town on a tour, and Jones took advantage of the occasion to make a badly timed attack on what he termed "Salvation Syrup." But the Nonconformist incident was typical of the impossibilist spirit. My friend's election committee had invited a very popular and influential dissenting minister to address a meeting for the people's cause. At the great risk of offending his congregation the minister accepted. He was a new convert to Socialism. I just forgot the particular organisation of which he was a member—a "League of Progressive Thought" or something of that kind. But certainly it was a Socialist organisation. Jones was glum and saturnine when informed about his new comrade, but nothing had said prepared us for his unwise and precipitate action at the meeting.

It was certainly a great meeting. The council school was full and cheers greeted the plucky young minister when he arose to give his address—or sermon, as Jones said. I thought his speech splendid. He declared himself in favour of an eight hours day for railway workers, endowment of motherhood, and a Minister of Labour. He also spoke well in an appeal for the cultivation of the best sort of Socialism, the improvement of individual character, the care of the Soul: for was not the regeneration of the individual the aim alike of the Church and of Socialism? He showed how Martin Luther and John Wesley each had dim but unmistakable premonitions of the Socialist idea; and with his fine tenor voice moved his audience to tears by an earnest condemnation of contemporary society as a mingling of blank and blatant Atheism and the most unrighteous materialism.

Then Jones spoke. He almost sneered at the minister's vivid denunciation of the slum. Flat and plain he said that had he been aware of the minister's ideas he would never have occupied a platform by his side, and that if the reverend gentleman wanted regeneration and abolition of blatant Atheism he would discover suitable allies amongst the Primitive Methodists.

The election was not won. Jones is not yet councillor or member of Parliament. His latest freak is to join a small and noisy gang of impossibilists. These men are such a body of troublesome revolutionaries, that the cultured and elegant editor of the *Socialist Review* tells us that they are driving our sensitive Labour leaders into the arms of the Liberal party. They heckle our lecturers, demand debating engagements, and frighten the life out of our young speakers. They forget that the English working man is not built after the fashion of his French and German confreres: he is definitely conservative, with a defendable love for venerable traditions and ancient institutions. So we must humour him and organise a Labour party without a programme, for as our comrade Wardle, who is a member of Parliament—a body which is the Will of All, the general active Will of the nation—as our comrade has shown, a programme was the means of wrecking the historic Liberal party, and will be the destruction of the Labour Party if it is so forgetful of its constructive spirit as to adopt one.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

AN "INDUSTRIALIST" ROUT.

On Thursday, May 27th, at the Latchmere Baths, Battersea, J. Fitzgerald and E. J. B. Allen debated as to the correctness of the position taken up by their respective organisations in compassing the end to which both are pledged, viz., the abolition of the present system of society and the substitution of the Socialist Commonwealth.

The debate was conducted in a splendid spirit, and followed by a large audience with an attention which demonstrated their recognition of the importance of the issue raised.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain feels more than justified in giving the above title to the following short account of the debate, where the representative of the Industrialist League cleverly defended a position which, under the stern bombardment of Fitzgerald became hopelessly untenable, ultimately presenting a picture of "looped and winded raggedness" which must have been apparent even to the adherents of, and sympathisers with, that organisation.

Mr. H. B. Rogers was in the chair. After a few opening remarks he called upon Allen to hold the fort for half an hour.

E. J. B. ALLEN acknowledged the oneness of aim of the two organisations. The question was:

HOW WAS THE WORKING CLASS TO GAIN CONTROL?

On the political field we saw the waste of time and energy in the quarrels between the various political parties, while in those places where revolutionary unionism existed you had a revolutionary working class. The class struggle was manifested mainly in the factory, field and workshop. There the revolutionary organisation must be built up. Street-corner propaganda was useless, unless backed up by revolutionary tactics in every-day life. In the political field you had your Burns, Vivian, Millerands, and Briands taking sides with the capitalists because they had been placed in a false position through political action. The franchise can, it has been, it may be, monkeyed with. What weapon then had the S.P.G.B. to fall back upon? The "political" Socialist was quick to point out failures of strikes; he seemed to shut his eyes to electoral failures with the consequent waste of time, money and energy. The Revolutionary Union would be prepared to take political action to dispossess the capitalist of power. They would use the weapon of the Strike up to the partial and complete General Strike. The French Postal workers had used this weapon with success. It looked as though after all the S.P.G.B. would have to follow the methods it denounced as impracticable, viz., the nationalisation of industries piecemeal. To-day the Parliament did not control the Army, for the Army Council was not under the control of any elected body. Along with Industrial Unionism there must be

ANTI-MILITARIST PROPAGANDA.

There are not wanting signs that the times are ripe for such a movement. The soldiers at Featherstone killed three. Had they shot as ordered they could have killed three hundred. The capitalist class had built up their economic power before they overthrew the absolute monarchy. The recent Postal strike in Paris illustrated the fact that a worker of whatever political colour could act solid with his class in the workshop. A Radical operator held up wires from Rome which would have facilitated work of the masters. Therefore he answered, "Yes," his organisation would accept even members of the I.L.P. It would accept anyone willing to act solid with his class. Once in the organisation the lesson of Socialism could be driven home by the Socialist already in the ranks. Besides a man would act straight as a worker who may be hopelessly begogged as a politician. The S.P.G.B. had run municipal candidates. They did not bar Parliamentary candidature. What would their representative do if elected? He could but

SUPPORT PALLIATIVES

as the elected representatives of the I.L.P. etc. did.

J. FITZGERALD in his all too brief half hour's reply, said that he intended, before answering his adversary's points directly, to state briefly,

the position of his Party. A mere statement of that position would refute much that had been said in opposition. What were the main obstacles to the goal? Two. The first corporeal, measurable, gross to sight, viz., the armed forces and other political machinery; the second, alas! incorporeal, immeasurable, unseen but real, vague but potent, heavy with the heaviness of Death—

WORKING-CLASS IGNORANCE.

That ignorance it is the duty of every Socialist to dispel. With regard to the first obstacle he noticed that the Industrialist League had added a new item to its programme since the inception of Industrial Unionism, when they argued they could "lock out the capitalist class," viz., Anti-Militarism. Not that he attached much importance to that particular form of propaganda, except that it clearly demonstrated that the Industrialist League had learnt from the S.P.G.B. the imperative necessity of reckoning with the armed forces instead of ignoring Anarchist fashion, the political machinery. Did not this fact of itself show, however, that the "neutral," telescope-to-the-blind-eye attitude of the Industrial League as far as "politics" were concerned, was officially capable of expression as a pious belief, but ludicrously impossible as practical tactics?

Allen had stated that Revolutionary Industrial organisations had made the French, Spanish, and Italian workers "more revolutionary," only admitting workers, was a class movement. In Warsaw during the late troubles, the workers struck and drove out the capitalists, who had to ask to be allowed to come back and take the works again. He again asked how the S.P.G.B. intended "seizing the political machinery" without the necessary force to seize it.

FITZGERALD in his 20 minutes reply pointed out that "revolutionary" speeches and actions born of more excitable temperaments, easily carried on waves of enthusiasm and as easily correspondingly depressed, did not constitute revolutionary tactics. The Confederation Générale du Travail (C.G.T.) had been referred to. Let it be clearly understood that that body was a loose conglomeration, controlled by a small body of Anarchists, who showed their individualistic proclivities with their accompanying thimble-rigging and wire-pulling, by insisting upon "one group, one vote," which means that a precious "group" of about six carried equal weight with a genuine association of a thousand. Truly, this showed the close relationship and connection of the I.U. with the avowed Anarchists.

The C.G.T. had called a "general strike" every May Day for the last three years, and the Industrialist said they were promised one this year. All of them had been miserable fiascos and the only "revolutionary" action that took place this year was the singing of "L'Internationale" by some men while marching

TO WORK!!

The whole tenor of C.G.T. thought is "leadership," and "leadership" had meant, and will mean, a shambles for the workers. Organisers charged to carry out intelligently the democratic will? Yes! The S.P.G.B. stands by that. "Leaders," in the sense of the bourgeoisie, of the I.L.P., of the S.D.P., looking meekly for direction and guidance to their middle-class tin gods? A thousand times No!

THERE IS NO ROOM

for the "middle"-class "intellectual" on the make, if the movement was truly democratic and therefore clean. On the "Industrialist" basis Marx and Engels would have been kept out of the movement. Marx had been quoted to bolster up the "non-political" character of Industrialism. Let his opponent read that brilliant monograph and cease to drag the lustrous name of Marx in the mire. "Parliamentary idiocy" was a disease attaching to the "pure and simple" politician. In the case of the coup d'état of 1851, it refers more particularly to the action of the fatuous "Party of Order" in calling Napoleon the Little to "concentrate the whole executive power in his own person" (pp. 50-51). Reference by any fair-minded person to the Declaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B. would dispel any illusion to the effect that his Party could be charged with such "idiocy," as it distinctly states that the workers must obtain control of the fighting forces. And then as to Warsaw. What a

specimen of "revolutionary" education! When the capitalists "asked" they were allowed to go back and recommence exploiting those who had turned them out!

ALLEN in his ten minutes round averred that the strong minority must lead the majority. History proved his contention. As for Parliamentary action, did not "Pride's Purge" demonstrate the uselessness of that? Members were expelled ruthlessly by the soldiers. The Parliament did not control the militia, for when Charles went to Nottingham the majority of the trained bands followed him. As to the C.G.T., could it be denied that an organisation claiming to be out for the expropriation of the capitalist class was revolutionary? The General Strike implied a revolutionary upheaval, animated by sheer unconstitutionalism, ignoring individual safety in looking for the salvation of the whole. It was minorities made all movements. They started the idea and dinned it into the heads of the others.

FITZGERALD, reviewing the whole situation in his last ten minutes, rammed home by apt quotation and scathing humour several points previously touched upon. The mention of "Pride's Purge" by Allen was peculiarly unfortunate. Above all things that event showed the enormous leverage which the seizure of political power gave. In the struggle between sections of the bourgeoisie which "Pride's Purge" illustrated, the victory was to that section effectively controlling the army as part of the political machinery. The North v. South slave struggle of 1861 in America illustrated the same point. Temporary and brilliant successes of Southern generals were bound to be rendered nugatory in the long run by the political force wielded by the North. As for the trained bands going to Charles, according to Gardiner, when the first call was made by Parliament in London, 40,000 fully armed and 100,000 lesser armed men responded—a splendid start for the Parliament. A final word as to "agitation in the workshop," which is claimed to be so educationally efficient. Why? In these days of speeding up, when is this propaganda to go forward?

From a sheer common-sense point of view, surely, in his hours of leisure, however scant, the workman is more accessible to Socialist thought and teaching. At any rate the task-master won't be immediately present.

The General Strike and minorities being right—well, let us see again what Roller has to say. Judge for yourselves the discrepancy between Roller's picture and that drawn by Allen. "The immense advantage of the General Strike is that it begins

ENTIRELY LAWFULLY

and without any danger to the workers, and for this reason thousands will take part who would never have thought of taking part in a revolution, but would have stayed at home behind the gate." What sort of "revolutionaries" are these? Directly action in revolutionary lines was needed they would disappear and leave the others to be crushed. Is the "General Strike" the last word of "Industrial Legitimacy"? It stands self-condemned.

A few harmless humours from the chairman closed the proceedings. That some "Industrialists" went away sadder if not wiser men is the firm hope, not to say conviction, of REGINALD.

BY THE WAY.

"But for Blatchford's valiant roaring there would have been no I.L.P. to-day, no Old Age Pensions, and no 'Socialistic Budget,'" says A. M. Thompson in the *Clarion* in the course of an attack on Wells of the swelled head. It is not everyone who would have boasted of these things. Many, indeed, are ready to blame the ignorance of the worker and the wiles of the capitalist for the existence of these frauds. But one never knows. Perhaps we misunderstand the *Clarion*. It may be that its phenomenal modesty and excessive zeal for fair play have induced it to take all the blame upon itself. Or it may be that the echoes of ignorance that compose the *Clarion* staff are under the illusion that they are giants of intellect and therefore the great moving forces of the "movement" which they do not even understand. Evidently Mr. Wells is not the only sufferer from "swelled head."

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed,—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,

THURSDAY, JULY 1, 1909.

Our Fifth Anniversary.

WHEN the Socialist Party of Great Britain was founded in 1904, many were prepared to prophesy our speedy demise, in fact, six months was the time given in which the Party would die and be forgotten. Nevertheless, despite the assistance they have rendered to the consumption of this, their wish, by the application to us of the boycott, of slander, abuse and opposition, we are still alive, and the Twelfth of June last registered the close of our Fifth Year of strenuous and consistent work for Socialism.

Five years is a goodly time in which to put us to the test, to "nip us in the bud," and we have triumphed—we have grown. Assailed on all sides by the agents of capitalist confusions and the mental dyspepsies of capitalist reforms, our Party has remained loyal to the cause of the working class. Neither the "New Theology" nor the "new economics," the "General Strike" nor the war scare, have succeeded in side-tracking us, even for a moment, from the task of working-class enlightenment and organisation for the conquest of political power in order to abolish capitalism.

Thus in the political arena our Candidates have fought for Socialism and Socialism alone. The columns of the SOCIALIST STANDARD have been utilised for nothing else, while in law court and police court, in the Press and on the platform, in debate and in discussion, our comrades have courageously vindicated the revolutionary attitude of the Party. The result—after five years—is that we are very much alive and stronger because of increased numbers and experience. Strong enough to have effectively repelled the reformers who would have strangled us, to have frozen out the would-be-bosses and job-hunters, and to have gained the respect of the enemy who has realised that he cannot use us. We may be a small party but we are a Socialist one, and, the only Socialist party in Great Britain.

Amid the "Babel of tongues" of the profit-mongering-political-and-economic-misleaders of Labour, the Party's voice has rung out clear, calm and confident, nor has one false note been struck. Events so far have justified its every warning and advice, and while collapsing capitalism is reflected in the hesitating uncertainty and vacillation of so-called Socialist parties, the Socialist Party of Great Britain stands solid and unshakable.

Entering our sixth year of voluntary effort on behalf of our fellow wage slaves, building up and perfecting the mechanism by which we may emancipate ourselves, we can look back on the past with satisfaction, and, in the light of our Socialist convictions, apply the experience gained to the present, confident that the future is ours.

A Capitalist Budget.

Judging by the noise made about the land-tax clauses in the Finance Bill, one might think that something vital were at stake; yet it is all nothing more than a squabble between sections

of the capitalist class as to what share each shall bear of the cost of their class government. It has long been the policy of one section in these serious-comic scuffles, to squeal "Revolution!" "Socialism!" "Confiscation!" when called upon to pay its share by the majority for the time being; but only the ignorant are duped by it. We are also becoming accustomed to finding the Labour Party, the tail of the Liberal cur, out-doing the regular representatives of the masters in spreading confusion among the workers. And now, because there is a pretence of taxing unearned increment on land values for the support of capitalism, these "Labour" members hail it as Socialist. They ignore the fact that all taxation imposed by capitalists on themselves is a taxation of unearned increment. The masters have already squeezed the workers dry in the factory, so to pay for their new Dreads—noughts the propertied class have, perforce, to tax themselves. That, indeed, is all the budget amounts to; and in what, pray, is it Socialist?

The Liberals still faintly echo the old conflict between the landed aristocracy and the industrial capitalist, and endeavour to place part of the cost of class rule on the landed interest; and the Labourites, like the Liberals at heart they are, must go wild with delight over it and talk as though it were a taxing of the rich for the benefit of the poor, when it is simply an attempt to lighten the taxes of the industrial capitalist. Moreover, the proceeds are to go, not to the poor, but to the support of capitalist government and to the building of ever more murderous engines of destruction.

Yet Mr. Victor Grayson said (according to the *Daily Telegraph* of June 23rd) that the Finance Bill contains "a good chunk" of his personal principles. Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald stated that if need be he would go into the lobby to support the Chancellor of the Exchequer. And Mr. Keir Hardie, consistent with his denial of the class struggle, said, "Labour men and Socialists would be cowards if they did not tell Mr. Lloyd George that they stood solidly behind him."

These men, it should be remembered, are popularly supposed to be representatives of Labour. They would have the workers ignore the fact that the State of to-day is but the collective will of the exploiters; while they preach the absurdity that a futile tax on land for the benefit of the common expenses of capitalist oppression is an instalment of Socialism! Their disregard of fundamentals, their support of the Liberals, and their tactics of confusion, all show clearly that they are not Socialists but are Socialism's worst enemies.

Justified by Our Enemies.

The German Social Democrats are complaining that Messrs. Snowden, Barnes, Macdonald and other "Labour" members went to Germany and associated at dinners and upon the public platform with notorious enemies of Socialism. Of course, there is nothing new in this. It is merely extending to foreign countries their common practice at home—and there is nothing illogical or inconsistent in that. It is true that it has been the custom of these gentlemen when travelling on the Continent, at all events about the time of the recurrence of the International Socialist (I.) Congress, to affirm the class struggle which they deny on this side of the Channel, but we here point out to our German comrades, and incidentally also to those compatriots whose "qualities of heart" so far outweigh their qualities of head as to render them at once the support and prey of these "Labour" cannibals, that the deduction to be drawn from this triennial acknowledgement of the class struggle and the acts complained of is that these so-called Labour leaders are conscious of the existence of the class struggle, and are deliberately fighting on the side of the master class. This is the view we tried in vain to convey to our German comrades when, just after the General Election of 1906, Auguste Bebel wrote to *Reynolds' Newspaper* a letter congratulating the British electors upon having sent so many Liberals and Labour men to the House of Commons. Now that our British mumpers on the Labour movement are taking to transferring their treacherous practices to German soil, the Social democrats of that country would seem to have discovered that they were gambolling on an inclined plane when they in 1906 congratulated the British electors on sending these very men to Parliament.

The Lancet manifesto in favour of the moderate use of alcoholic liquors, which was extensively signed by eminent medical men, will still be fresh in the mind of the reader. At the meeting of the International Physiological Congress, held at Cambridge in September 1898, an attempt was made to obtain the opinion of leading physiologists regarding this particular subject, and the following statement drawn up by Sir Michael Foster, the president of the Congress, was presented for signature:

The physiological effects of alcohol, taken in a diluted form, in small doses, as indicated by the popular phrase "moderate use of alcohol," in spite of the continued study of past years, have not as yet been clearly and completely made out. Very much remains to be done, but, thus far the results of careful experiments show that alcohol, so taken, is oxidised within the body, and so supplies energy like common articles of food, and that it is physiologically incorrect to designate it as a poison—that is, a substance which can only do harm and never good to the body. Briefly, none of the exact results hitherto gained can be appealed to as contradicting, from a

DRINK AND THE CHILD.

THE Board of Education have now made the teaching of teetotalism a normal part of the elementary school curriculum by the issuing of a comprehensive syllabus of lessons on the subject. Now if this were a disinterested endeavour to promote the well-being of the child it would be welcome, but, as in all capitalist "education," the cloven hoof is visible. The chief object of this latest move is, as will be seen, not humanity, but more profit. Of course, from the professions of bourgeois spokesmen this fact could not be gathered. According to them the capitalist is in business solely for the benefit of the working class. He makes a profit only in order that the workers may get wages. He lives in debauchery and spends huge sums in luxury only to provide work for the lower orders. Indeed, his attitude is summed up in Marx's ironical phrase, "the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class."

So in the matter of education this humbug is perpetuated; and the insincerity of the master class is plain in its temperance proposals as elsewhere. Drink is only a curse to-day because of the capitalist conditions which make for its excessive use and poisonous adulteration. But to remove the economic conditions which engender alcoholic abuse would be to strike a blow at capitalist interests. Instead, therefore, of abolishing the wretched conditions of proletarian life that lay at the root of much of the craving for drink, the capitalists hypocritically try to minimize effects by puritanical legislation, or they try to train the tender sapling during the brief school hours in the fond hope that industrial conditions in later life will not bend it in an opposite direction.

Many eminent men have placed on record the fact that bad air, bad food, monotony and over-work, are prominent among the influences that lead to excessive drinking. Prof. König expresses a common view of German physiologists when he says that:

Taken in moderate quantities in such forms as cognac, brandy, beer, and other beverages, alcohol is likewise an important stimulant to digestion. Brandy, whiskey, sherry, and the like, are therefore favourite remedies in disturbances of the bowels and stomach, and this helps to explain why the poorer classes, who often live upon a wretched diet of the less digestible foods, such as coarse bread and potatoes, have a craving for strong and stimulating alcoholic drinks.

In few questions, moreover, has the perversion of truth been more effectively organised than in that of the use of alcohol. The noisy and well organised teetotalers have for long, with damnable iteration, dinned exaggerated or lying statements into the public ear on this matter, particularly in discussing its economic aspects. And now the education authority itself enters more thoroughly into its work of hypnotising the masses by means of early and persistent suggestion of the employer's side of the case. From the standpoint of economics the teetotal twaddle admits of easy refutation; but even from the physiological point of view, though opinions differ among Socialists as to the benefits or otherwise to be derived from a moderate use of stimulants, it is well to remember that the evidence is by no means solely on the side of abstinence.

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purely physiological point of view, the conclusions which some persons have drawn from their daily common experience, that alcohol so used may be beneficial to their health.

The occasion was particularly favourable, for some of the most celebrated physiologists of the world and many well-known investigators were present. A very few objected to the phraseology, and one, although believing it to be correct, refused to sign because he feared it might be misused by "the trade." A large proportion of those to whom it was submitted expressed their approval by their signatures. And, says Mr. W. O. Atwater (*Harper's*, No. DCVI), the number and character of the signers are such as warrant the acceptance of the statement as the opinion of the leading physiologists of the day.

But even if the excessive use of alcohol were to cease, and it were clearly proved that the sum of human happiness was increased by its moderate use, the capitalist's objection would not cease.

The real basis of their objection is that it is not a necessity but a luxury, and that if the worker could be got to do without it he could live more cheaply and work for less wages. Macaulay once said that the Puritans "hated bear-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bear, but because it gave pleasure to the spectators." And the modern Puritan looks upon working-class pleasures in exactly the same spirit, particularly when they appear to stand in the way of bigger profits. This, indeed, underlies the whole of the Education syllabus as explained by the *Daily News*. Pleasure is a thing to which the workers have apparently no right. In choosing their food and drink they must allow no considerations of enjoyment to influence them. Thus the syllabus and notes are quoted by Cadbury's organ as follow.

Neither tea nor coffee is good for children; they should have milk or cocoa instead. Cocoa is better for children than tea or coffee because it is less stimulating and contains a little more real food substance.

It is true that there is a certain amount of nourishment in beer. There is, for example, a little sugar, and there is a small quantity of the food substance found in meat. To obtain enough food from beer really to benefit the body, however, it would be necessary to take an extremely large quantity. For this reason, the good that might be done by the nourishing part of the beer would be more than counterbalanced by the harm done by the alcohol contained in so large a quantity.

It will be seen that no weight is given to psychological considerations: the amount of nourishment is treated as the only factor, while beer is condemned, apparently, because it would be injurious to subsist solely upon it! But it is also true that man cannot live by bread alone; and when the percentages of protein and carbohydrates in an aliment have been found by analysis, the last word has by no means been said on its value. On some people, particularly those in depressing health or circumstances, the pleasure afforded by a small amount of alcoholic stimulant may have a beneficial effect—even from the dietary point of view—far more important than the amount of actual nourishment imparted. No food-value has yet been ascribed to a hearty laugh, but there is much truth in the popular saying, "Laugh and grow fat." Indeed, no discussion of the value of alcohol as an aliment can be adequate that does not take the psychological factor into account; and it is, moreover, doubtful, to say the least, if a merely attenuated existence is the life most worth living in any case.

Now, however, we come to what is after all the gist of the whole matter. It is that the capitalist has, rightly or wrongly, become convinced that the abstainer does more work, and the following striking statements are made by the Board of Education.

Experiments were made by Dr. Parkes with two gangs of soldiers doing equally hard muscular work (mowing), one gang alternately taking beer during the work and the other not. In every case it was shown that although men taking beer might for a short time gain on the others, yet they soon dropped behind, and at the end of the day the total work they had accomplished was less than that done by those who had no alcohol.

Mr. Brassey ("Work and Wages") says: "Some of the most powerful of the navvies have been teetotalers. On the Great Northern Railway there was a celebrated gang of navvies who did more work in a day than any other gang on the line, and always left off work an hour or an hour and a half earlier

SELF-MADE!

A correspondent signing himself A. Listener writes:

"Having participated as a humble listener in many discussions on Socialism, I have frequently heard your speakers say that no man can make his own fortune by himself alone. Would you kindly answer through the columns of your paper, the undermentioned questions?"

"Now I know a man (a friend of mine) who went abroad, took a piece of land, his object being to discover gold, and fortunately it proved a success. Now this land was worked up by himself alone.

"Do you not consider him to be a man that has made his own fortune by himself alone?"

No good "Listener," your friend did not make his fortune "by himself alone." By a fortune we understand such an accumulation of wealth as, through the control of other men's labour that it gives, enables its owner to live without labouring himself.

In the first place there is the outstanding fact, that apart from property-founded society, where-in wealth monopoly gives some men control and mastery over the labour of other men, there can exist no fortune. It's main characteristic, the power of dominion that it imparts, is obviously conditional upon the existence of other men (and producers at that). Without these there can be no fortune.

In the second place, your friend had to be carried to the gold-bearing land, and so required the help of the steamship and railway workers and all the craftsmen and labourers who contribute to the construction of the means of transportation. He needed tools to work the land and, not less, the knowledge of where and how to get out the gold.

Thirdly, so soon as your gold-mining fortune had won a surplus over and above the amount required to purchase his means of subsistence, he doubtless, being wise in his generation, banked or otherwise invested it. That is to say, he put it to such use as entailed the exploitation of the wage workers. In the normal course of commerce, then, his property would grow by the accumulation of rent, interest or dividends, regardless of any exertion upon his part.

And so it stands demonstrated, that even in the exceptional case of your friend, the acquiring of his fortune was assisted and alone made possible, not only by the very existence and labour of countless other men, but by the accumulations of knowledge and implements made by the numberless generations of men who have preceded us. In other words, wealth accumulates to-day as a result of social activity without which the individual is utterly impotent. This is more easily seen than ever in modern industrial society, with which the Socialist is more particularly concerned when he says that no man makes (creates) his own fortune.

J. H. H.

CANON SCOTT HOLLAND ON THE HOME.

The tradition of the English home, dear to all hearts, said Canon Scott Holland, in a sermon at St. Paul's, yesterday, to a congregation of the delegates of the International Women's Suffrage Conference, was crumbling and perishing all about us.

At both ends of society a like disaster was being enacted. At the one extreme wealth and luxury were dissolving and corrupting the discipline that knitted the family together in a mutual interchange of serviceable functions; there were no functions left for anybody, and the services were all hired or farmed out; there was only one intelligible desire, and that was to have a good time.

Then at the other extremity the terrible pressure of competitive industry was more and more laying women under the dire necessity of becoming the bread-winners of the household. They could do it cheaper than the men they displaced, therefore every year we found heavier burdens on the backs of women.

If we desired to alter this we had got to reconsider the entire method of our industry.

Morning Leader, 3.5.09.

THE ROMANCE OF MODERN TRADE.

A RECENT issue of the *Storekeepers' Journal* contained a paragraph with the heading printed above. It stated that the writer was sanguine enough to believe that storekeepers throughout the country would, without exception, join in the chorus of congratulations that had been showered upon Sir Timeous Skipton at the honour so recently conferred upon him by His Majesty the King, an honour which was not merely a personal one, but was shared by the whole trade of which Sir Timeous is so shining a light. It recalled the now well-known fact that Sir Timeous started storekeeping in a very humble way in the South only a few years ago, and by his industry, pluck, and keenness has become one of the largest of the successful produce distributors of modern times. As head of the international concern with which he is associated, his name has become a household word. Such a career, concluded the writer, is a complete answer to the croakers who say there is no scope to-day for the enterprising man, and that the opportunity for the individual to succeed no longer exists. Let such remember and act upon the Scriptural injunction, "Go thou and do likewise."

I showed the paragraph in question to a friend whose commercial affairs bring him into contact with many who fail as shopkeepers, and he told me the following life story. He called it

THE TRAGEDY OF MODERN TRADE.

Many years ago, long before the advent of the "Merchant Storekeepers," "Multiple Traders," and the like, a young married couple, whom we will call Mr. and Mrs. Jones, opened a grocery and provision shop in a fairly large town in the Midlands. They both worked in the business, rarely took a holiday, regularly paid their wholesale houses and thus remained on good terms with them, brought up their children healthily and educated them as circumstances permitted. As they grew up the sons assisted in the business and looked forward to ultimately taking it over, whilst the daughters cheerfully performed the household duties. They had no idea of trouble—at any rate, business trouble—ever coming their way. The town's population grew, and Mr. Jones, being widely known and greatly respected, increased his turnover until it reached nearly five figures per annum, and his devoted, unassuming wife and himself were looking forward to shortly retiring upon a sufficiency to ensure their freedom from anxiety during their final steps in the journey of life. One day, however, a neighbouring house owner, in view of the development of the town, converted a number of houses adjoining the Jones' shop into shop premises, and a few weeks after the one next door to Mr. Jones was opened as the local branch of Skipton's Limited. The Jones were not greatly perturbed at first, although they began to talk among themselves when at the new shop cheese could be purchased at one penny per pound cheaper than Mr. Jones could buy it wholesale. Others of the shops were taken and opened by the Jampress Tea Co. (which the travellers who called upon Mr. Jones hinted was really being run by Skipton's Ltd. under an assumed name), the World's Dairy Co., the Grey Mole Tea Co., the Inter Colonial Butter Co., and others, all attempting by methods quite foreign to Mr. Jones' idea of legitimate business, to capture his trade, in which they ultimately succeeded. His customers gradually deserted him. His turnover dropped in a few years from nearly ten to about two thousand pounds, and at last the crash came. He called a meeting of his creditors, and they, realising that the old chap had been "broke" by the irresistible march of capitalist development ("unfair competition" he called it), generously presented him with the furniture to which they were legally entitled, and accepted their eight shillings in the £, some of them reflecting that it was not the old chap, honest, sober, industrious, aye, and Nonconformist and Liberal as he was, who had succeeded in life, but that, despite all these virtues he had "gone under" largely through the successful efforts of the "Merchant Storekeeper" who had been so recently honoured by His Majesty.

POINTS FROM THE FACTORY INSPECTOR'S REPORT.

THE report for 1908 of the Chief Inspector of Factories and Workshops contains some interesting facts illustrating and sufficiently condemning capitalist industry and pretended reform.

Here are a few (we quote from *Lloyd's News*, 30.5.09).

"The passing is noted of the White Phosphorus Matches Prohibition Act of 1908, the provisions of which will come into force next January, after which date no white phosphorus matches may be made or imported. All the match factories in the United Kingdom, with one notable exception, remained free from any case of necrosis as in the three previous years; but in that one factory a further case occurred in 1908 and two other attacks have been reported in the first quarter of 1909."

The above mentioned Act is rather typical of capitalist "palliative" legislation and is characterized by the usual hypocrisy. 'Tis clear that the evil complained of has, in this country at least, been reduced to a minimum by the progress of the match industry itself. For have not the superiority and cheapness of the non-white-phosphorus matches almost driven the more noxious kind out of the market? The Liberal party and its Labour supporters are thus able to point to a further important advance in social reform at mighty little cost to themselves—cost in votes and contributions to the party funds. For practically no capitalist interests are touched, since the evil against which the Act is directed (according to the Report) scarcely exists.

"Lead poisoning shows, on the other hand, a lamentable increase, the number of cases of all kinds being 646 against 578, the greatest increase being in connection with the smelting of metals—from twenty-eight to seventy. The new inspector for the Potteries district expresses his dissatisfaction with the manner in which the special rules are being observed."

There is, however, no mention of a law against the use of lead in the pottery industry, although its use, according to the Report, is attended by much greater injury. Why? Because its use is still profitable, and to propose a law against its use would be to attack real, live, capitalist interests.

It is worth while noting, too, that there are great numbers of workers, for example plumbers and painters, whose cases are never reported.

Lady Inspector Miss Vines describes amongst others, the following pitiful case: it shows "what capitalism has done for the worker" (*pace* "Anti-Socialist") and is doing for the mother and the mistress of the "Englishman's castle."

"Mrs. B., a celeste paintress, aged thirty-eight,

was a colour duster eight years ago, when she had a severe attack of lead poisoning, never properly well since, but has been employed as celeste paintress at the same factory for several years. Was very ill with colic, sickness, wrist and finger drop of both hands. Could not dress herself, could not grip. Had been married fifteen years, had nine dead and one living child, which was ill all its life and never walked dying under three years of age. Her husband was injured in the South African war, and had been an invalid ever since. Both lived with the husband's old widowed mother, and latterly the wife had partially kept both mother and husband with her earnings. Mrs. B.'s employers refused compensation, and it was not till the case was taken into court that compensation was obtained."

Incidentally the reward of "Tommy," one of "Our Empire's brave defenders," should not be overlooked.

* * *

But the Report contains other pretty items. In certain parts of the Swansea and Cardiff districts houses suitable for the working classes are so scarce that men sleep in three relays of eight hours each in the same bed, and kitchens are being used as sleeping apartments."

We wonder if there are some Territorial "home" defenders among the said men.

* * *

While this one tersely delineates the condition of the often anaemic, forewoman cursed, bun and tea starved stitchers who clothe in rich raiment the female parasites of the capitalist class:

"Gentry" and high rents are the curse of the West End dressmaking establishments. The workers must be hidden away in basement work-rooms, or at the back and top of high houses, in order that they may not disturb or worry the sensibilities of the client, who cares not under what conditions clothes are made."

And yet withal, these, the other potential happy home-makers, when (not all by any means) reach the desired haven or "home," find in how many cases, that they have but exchanged the frying pan for the fire. Such is the age.

* * *

Our next and last shows how hopelessly ineffectual the inspection often is and how employers are able to brow-beat and intimidate those whom the capitalist Press pretend are free citizens. The case cited is a test of truth as between the "free citizen" delusion and the enlightening Socialist axiom that capitalist employment is wage-slavery.

Another lady inspector, Miss Martindale, gives some startling details as to how the Truck Act is evaded. In one case in Ireland declarations were obtained by her from men who swore that their wages were kept back in payment for their father's long-standing debts. Proceedings were taken, but the lady inspector's witnesses went back on their declarations, and swore that they received their wages in coin. The case, of course, was dismissed. Yet Miss Martindale was told immediately afterwards that the employer had paid wages in goods from "time immemorial," and that everyone in court knew it."

Did the employee witnesses go "back on their declarations" because they enjoyed bearing false witness, or was it not rather that they feared the "sack" and inability to give their children bread? Answer, ye anti-Socialist working men and women. Are ye truly "free citizens" or are ye not verily wage-slaves? If the latter, come where ye belong, in the ranks of the wage-slaves' party—the S.P.G.B., and battle with us for your emancipation. J. H. H.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Evening Call" (New York)
- "Labor" (St. Louis)
- "The Keel" (Tyneside)
- "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago)
- "Western Wage-Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "The Flame," (Broken Hill)
- "Freedom," (London)
- "Anglo Russian," (London)
- "Rifleshot" (London)
- "Voice of Labour," (Johannesburg)

THE PARABLE OF THE TABLE.

[Being a further extract from the speech of Gustave Hervé on the occasion of his trial (*vide* June S.S.), translated for the Socialist Party of Great Britain by FRITZ.]

Ah! I know that I wound your conscience, gentlemen of the jury. Your conscience pricks you all the more because you feel that I am speaking the truth. I feel sure that when I say this I wound the universal conscience which the Paris Bar with its eloquence, knows so well how to interpret.

But do you believe that Voltaire, Diderot and the rest of the encyclopédistes were able to avoid treading on people's corns?

It is a lamentable fact that every time a new form of society is about to come forth from the womb of one on the point of death, it always does so by a long and painful child-birth, producing in every family, and in every heart, trouble and anguish; suffering that every innovator would fain spare those whose convictions he hurts.

As for us revolutionary Socialists, we have discarded the folds of this flag on which the names of so many deeds of butchery are displayed in letters of gold.

Flags are but emblems; and are worth something only in so far as they represent something worthy. What, after all, is one's native country? Of what, in actual fact, do all these "fathers-lands" consist?

Allow me, if you please, gentlemen of the jury, to draw for you a mental picture, to speak if I may a kind of parable, which will the better help you to understand what our feelings are. One's native land, every country, no matter under what form of government it be masked, is made up of two groups of men, consisting on the one hand of a quite small number, on the other including the immense majority of people.

The first of these is seated round a well furnished table where nothing is lacking. At the head of this table, in the seat of honour, you find the great financiers; some, perhaps, are Jews, others Catholics or Protestants, or it may be even Freethinkers. It is possible for them to be in entire disagreement on questions of religion or philosophy, and even on questions affecting their individual interests, but as against the mass of the people, they are as thick as thieves.

Seated on their right and left hand you have Cabinet Ministers, high officials of every department of civil, religious or military administration.

Paymasters-general with salaries of 30, 40, and 60 thousand francs a year; a little further off fully fledged barristers, by their unanimity glorious interpreters of the "Universal Conscience"—the whole Bench and Bar, not forgetting their precious assistants, the solicitors, notaries and ushers.

Large shareholders in mines, factories, railways, steamship companies and big shops: manorial magnates, big landed proprietors; all are seated at this table: everybody that has two-pence is there too, but at the foot. These latter are the small fry, who have for that matter, all the prejudices, all the conservative instincts, of the big capitalists.

Ah! gentlemen of the jury, I wish that you may be of the number of these privileged ones seated around this festive board. Verily, you are not so badly off there, after all, you know. In return for a little work—when you have any work at all—work I say which is oft-times intelligent, occasionally agreeable, which always leaves you with some spare time for yourself, directive work that flatters your pride and vanity—in return for this you can enjoy a life of plenty, made pleasant by every comfort, every luxury that the progress of science has placed at the service of Fortune's favoured ones.

Far from the table I see a great herd of beasts of burden doomed to repulsive, squalid, dangerous, unintelligent toil, without truce or rest, and above all without any security for the morrow; petty shop-keepers chained to their counters, Sundays and holidays, more and more crushed by the competition of the big shops; small industrial employers, ground down by the competition of the big factory owners; small peasant proprietors, brutalised by a sixteen to eighteen

hours day, who only toil that they may enrich the big middlemen; millers, wine factors, sugar refiners. At a still greater distance from this table of the happy ones of this world, I see the crowd of proletarians, who have but their strength of arm or their brain for sole fortune, factory hands, men and women exposed to long periods of unemployment, petty officials and shop-assistants forced to bow and scrape and hide their opinions, domestic servants of both sexes, labouring flesh, cannon fodder, material of pleasure."

There are your beloved countries! Your country to-day is made up of this monstrous social inequality, this horrible exploitation of man by man.

When the proletarians doff their hats to the flag as it passes by, it is to this that they uncover. They in effect say: "What a splendid country is ours! How free, kind and just is she!"

How! how you must laugh, Mr. Attorney-General, when you hear them sing:

"Ah! glorious is death indeed,
When for our native land—for liberty—we bleed!"

PARTY PARS.

The Walthamstow Branch has been formed and its propaganda promises well. The new East Ham Branch is entering into the work with vigour, not only in their district, but in West Ham also, where assistance has been greatly needed.

Paddington Comrades seem destined for particular police attention. Hitherto all attempts of the local nobility to discredit the Party and stop our meetings there have failed, and now the police are being used against us. *There may be developments.* Meanwhile our comrades are going strong. An extra meeting place has been opened at Victoria Road, Kilburn, where excellent work is being done every Wednesday, and a debate with a representative of the Anti-Socialist Union will take place there soon.

The attention of comrades and friends is drawn to the fact that more money is needed at the Head Office. Three new pamphlets and a fourth edition of the now famous "Manifesto," as well as four new leaflets, are now "on the way," and doubtless the printer will want a little on account. Therefore "ITS YOUR MONEY WE WANT."

Copies of "Socialism v. Social Reform" can still be had, and comrades "at large" as well as Branches should secure supplies and scatter wide.

Those travelling showmen of the *Clarion* have been engaging the attention of some of our comrades. A Woolwich one writes "Lord almighty vanner Hick has visited us and, being compelled to admit the truth of our position, advised the working classes to join the S.P.G.B.! He will be joining the unemployed presently, unless he changes again." At Tottenham Mr. Muir Watson, who was well received by a few Liberals, looked anything but comfortable when tackled by our men. In answer to questions he claimed that "it does not really matter whether there is a class war or not." He "would not say nationalisation was Socialism, at least, not in Tottenham." Asked to allow opposition he replied, "No Socialist is allowed on the van—only anti-Socialists," thus naïvely explaining his presence thereon.

Expose the bounders!

Mr. Harrison's questions will be answered in our next issue. The growing demands upon our space make it increasingly difficult to meet all requirements.

BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS.
HELD IN THE
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY
EVENING AT 7.30.

JOTTINGS.

MR. A. D. Steel-Maitland and Miss Rose Squire were appointed to investigate the relationship of industrial and sanitary conditions to pauperism. Their report to the Poor Law Commission is issued as a Blue Book. Their summing up gives the following conditions as being contributory to pauperism in the order given.

1. Casual and Irregular Employment.
2. Bad Housing Conditions.
3. Seasonal Fluctuations in Trade.
4. Unhealthy Trades and Insanitary Conditions of Work Places.
5. Earnings Habitually Below what are required for Healthy Subsistence.
6. Dangerous Trades.
7. Excessive Hours of Work.

Regarding cause 2 the investigators say "These contribute to pauperism through disease and demoralisation. They are important causes of Pauperism, but less so than the first."

The Socialist is well aware that the bad housing conditions are consequent upon (or effects of) the irregular employment under existing conditions. Shortness of wages compels the wage worker to accept a slum dwelling.

Some of the slums are the result of "improvements," it is pointed out.

"Improvements in towns, accompanying the increase of wealth, by the demolition of badly built quarters, the erection of palaces for banks, warehouses etc., the widening of streets for business traffic, for the carriages of luxury, and for the introduction of tramways, etc., drive the poor into worse and more crowded hiding places."—"Capital," Vol. I, p. 674.

This shows clearly that the palliative of better housing does not palliate the real evil of the present system at all, but this by the way.

With reference to No. 7, "Excessive Hours of Work," the comment of the investigators is "We have been unable to trace any connection between long hours of work and pauperism." Whilst, however, they cannot trace "any connection between long hours of work and pauperism," they tell us that drink is one of the principal causes of pauperism, but for the most part it is the effect of causes such as dangerous and unhealthy conditions of work, excessive hours, low wages and bad housing. So showing drink to be a cause of pauperism and excessive hours to be a cause of drinking habits, these blind tools of capitalist hypocrites cannot (?) trace any connection between long hours and pauperism.

The June issue of the *Pioneer*, the organ of the "Labour and Socialist" movement in Burnley and edited from the S.D.P. club in that town, contains an article on the Budget by Robinson Graham. The sixpenny supertax is hailed gladly by the writer of the article. He goes on to say "we Socialists (are) determined that the working class shall be reminded that this Liberal tax is a tax which has been advocated by Socialists on the platform and in the Press since the inception of the Socialist movement." Again, "the Government has merely embodied the public wish formed by the Socialist agitator." Quite unconsciously Mr. Graham belittles the "Socialist" effort alluded to above and points out that "ten Budgets like this one would make little or no difference to the lives of the working classes."

As the item advocated since the inception of the "Socialist" movement is contained in the Budget, those "Socialists" who advocated it stand condemned, on their own admission, for side-tracking the workers, in so far as time has been wasted on a useless measure.

There is some sound advice in the concluding paragraph of Mr. Graham's article, which the workers of Burnley and elsewhere (and Mr. Graham himself) should take to heart. They are urged to "direct their attention to ways and means of overthrowing the capitalist system which makes poverty the common experience of the great majority of our people," and since it is admitted that the Liberal Government have brought in this Budget with a view "to restoring the confidence of the British workmen" in themselves, it should be a lesson to the workers to fight shy of even S.D.P. agitation for super-

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR, JULY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	F. Joy	E. Fawcett	H. Newman
"	7.30	A. Reginald	J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh
Earlfield, Magdalene Road	11.30	J. Kemble	T. W. Allen	H. Cooper
"	7.30	A. Barker	F. Joy	H. Martin
Clapham Common	3.30	A. Reginald	J. Fitzgerald	H. Joy
Finsbury Park	3.30	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson	J. Fitzgerald
Kennington Triangle	11.30	H. Newman	H. Martin	A. Anderson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. C. Watts	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald
Peckham Triangle	7.30	T. W. Alles	H. Martin	J. H. Halls
Tooting Broadway	11.30	A. Barker	E. Fairbrother	E. Fairbrother
"	7.30	F. Joy	T. W. Allen	H. Newman
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	A. W. Pearson	H. Newman	H. Joy
"	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Reginald
Walham Green, Effie Road	7.30	E. Fairbrother	H. Newman	J. Fitzgerald
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0	H. Cooper	F. Leigh	A. Anderson
Watford, Market Place	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	J. Kemble	H. Martin
West Ham, Boleyn Tavern	11.30	J. Kennett	J. Fitzgerald	J. E. Roe
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	J. Crump	A. Reginald	T. W. Allen
"	7.30	J. H. Halls	J. Crump	F. Dawkins

MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Park, 8. Peckham, Bassano-st., 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Peckham, Collyer's-place, 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Paddington, Victoria-rd., High-rd., Kilburn, 8.30.**FRIDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Greengate, Plaistow, 8 p.m. Lewisham Mkt. 8.30. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8.**SATURDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SUNDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Walthamstow, Hoe St., 8.30. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

taxes and the like, which can be used for the restoration of confidence in a capitalist Government.

Socialism is the only remedy, and that alone, for our social evils. Super-taxes will not make any alteration whatever in the basis of society, in fact, they presuppose exploitation in order that the taxes may be levied and realised.

Those who, claiming to be working-class leaders, direct working-class political activity against anything except the capitalist system must be swept away.

* * *

We are informed by the *Baker's Record*, that the S.D.P. have convened a meeting to consider the food supply of the nation, at which they propose to put forward a resolution urging the Government to purchase large reserve stores of corn with money invested in the Post Office Savings Bank. This all very fine as an example of revolutionary daring, but it isn't to be supposed that the capitalist class are going to put up for ever with the revolutionary (!) plots that are hatched at Mooney's bar. One of these fine days the S.D.P. will find itself suppressed, unless some particularly funny turn so excites the hilarity of the police as to prevent them executing their duty. Moreover, they are in for a "rough-and-tumble" with the I.L.P., for I hear that the latter have long ago ear-marked "the money in the Post Office Savings Bank" for the capitalists to buy themselves out with.

JAYBEE.

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**THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

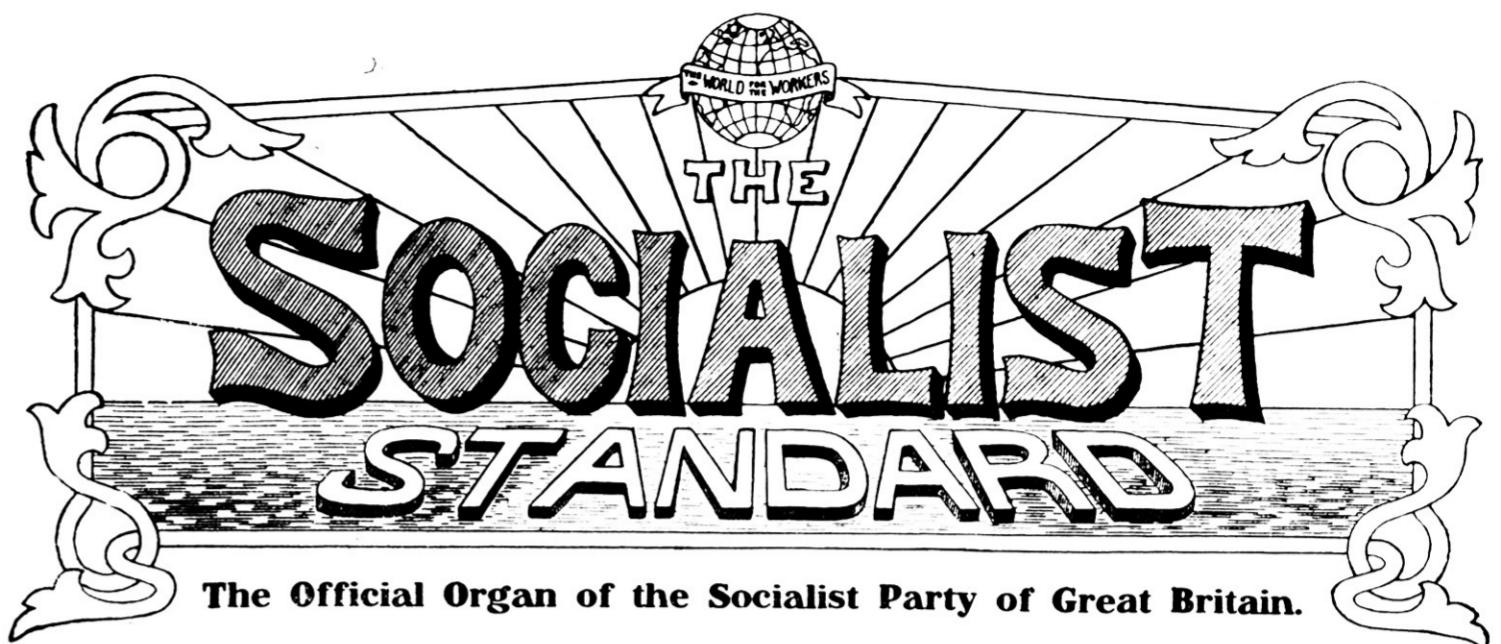
Address.....

.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 60. VOL. 5.]

LONDON, AUGUST 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

SYNDICALIST AND ANTI-MILITARIST WINGS BROUGHT TO DECLARE FOR POLITICAL ACTION.

Translated from *Proletary* (Russian) by J. Kresswell and adapted from the *Weekly People* (New York).

THE late October, 1908, convention of the United Socialist Party and the General Confederation of Labor in France will undoubtedly serve as the turning point in the history of the French labor movement. The vacillating course and the somersaults, from "opportunistic" Socialism to "revolutionary anarcho-syndicalism" are destined to be relics of the past.

The tactics of the French proletariat are becoming more and more similar to those of Germany, Austria and Scandinavia.

By attaching the "Socialist" Millerand to the Cabinet of the clever and masterful Waldeck-Rousseau, the French bourgeoisie succeeded in temporarily breaking down the ranks of the labor organisations. At the head of the General Confederation of Labor at that time, were the reformers of the English trade unionist type, among whom were active adherents of Jaurès' theory of the co-operation of the classes. Géraud, the then secretary of the Confederation, used to support in the Federation Millerand, who opened wide the treasury of the ministry of Commerce to the labor syndicates. In those days the Confederation used to give banquets in honor of Millerand, and radical municipalities used to give to labor unions free lycéums and pecuniary subsidies. Consequently the demoralisation of labor organisations became so great that nothing better seemed to remain to honest Socialists but to join the anarcho-syndicalists in their conflict with the reformers.

In Bourges the anarcho-syndicalists, thanks to the active co-operation of the Guesdists trade unions, captured temporarily the G.C. of L. and became the moving spirits in theory and practice in the French labor movement. The reformers also prepared a fine field for anarcho-syndicalists. The hostility to political action which seized the laboring masses in the rising period of neo-syndicalism, appears only as a just reaction to the excesses of the parliamentary tactics. Only four years have passed since "revolutionary" syndicalism triumphed, yet it is now passing. We limit ourselves to a short review of the evolution this syndicalism has gone through in this time.

Arming themselves at Bourges with a complete arsenal of revolutionary phrases, our syndicalists imagined that we were on the eve of the grand sunset of the capitalist world. In their inflamed imagination the first important strike became almost the beginning of the Social Revolution. The words "general strike" became a sacred commandment on their lips. The Paris Convention of 1901 even decided to form a special

committee to prepare for such a strike, and the syndicalists were convinced that the day when the working class would go on strike would be the last of the bourgeois regime. Syndicalists taught the workers that high dues, rich union treasuries and numerous syndicates lead to narrow English unionism only, that strikes must always be hastily improvised, and to prepare for them long is unnecessary. The general laboring masses they considered cowardly and apathetic, and they assigned the principal role to an active and energetic minority. These agitators being in most cases at the head of syndicates in embryo, acted with surprising self-assurance, and the unsuccessful outcome of strikes never worried them. Strikes in their eyes always served as "revolutionary gymnastics."

With such views the syndicalists prepared themselves for the first decisive battle, which they were to give to "capital" on May 1st, 1906, in order to gain the eight-hour day. Their impressive revolutionary proclamations and the previously raised hue and cry momentarily scared the French bourgeoisie. The radical ministry concentrated in proletarian centres enormous military forces. The French workingmen, without a son in their union treasuries, without strong syndicates, temporarily influenced by the revolutionary phraseology of the demagogues, stumbled not only over the more perfectly organised capital, but also upon the government's army. The result was the complete defeat of the workers. A great number of unions became almost wholly demoralised and disbanded. Others lost considerable of their membership—the metal workers, for instance, more than a third. The federation of pressmen, whose caution the syndicalists ridiculed and condemned, was the only one to carry on a successful struggle. This union succeeded in gaining a nine-hour day in a considerable part of France. How powerful was the blow delivered to the working class by this inflated first of May movement may be judged from the fact that the number of successful strikes for this year reached only 7 per cent., while the average for the previous ten years was 14 per cent. The Confederation of Labor, which, according to Pouget, had 250 thousand members in 1903, had at the convention of Amiens four years later only 203 thousand.

Far poorer results were shown from syndicalist practice the last two years, which even the revolutionary leaders, Pouget and Griffoulles confess. At the same time the bourgeoisie had not remained idle. During one year the numbers in employers' associations increased from 268 thousand to 315 thousand, a gain of 18 per cent. A more rapid progress is shown in the class-conscious organisation of capital in 1907. In the metallurgical, electrical, automobile, glass and chemical industries a series of trusts were

formed almost embracing all the national industries. The league of merchants and storekeepers alone, which was shortly formed to combat the Sunday rest idea, counts 100 thousand members. To these well organised forces of capital the Confederation of Labor proposed to give battle with the small undisciplined and provisionless army, composing only 27 per cent. of France's working population, and only one-third of the organised labor of the land.

The revolutionary syndicalists, who during six years held noisy harangues about a general strike, understood the necessity of large and powerful organisations, when their attempt to call a general strike during the May agitation and the events at Draveil-Vigneux resulted in complete defeat. These events conclusively proved that their practical influence upon organised labor was absolutely nil. Pouget, the real head of the revolutionary syndicalists, wrote at the end of June in the *Voice of the People*: "Unfortunately it must be acknowledged that if the idea of the general strike has made great theoretical gains in France, in practice we are behind even the Italian proletariat. The cause of this appears to be the state of illusion of the workers. To the practical syndicalists the lessons of the past have not been in vain, many of them have found out the errors of the past." Griffoulles, sec. of the Confederation, confessed to the editor of *L'Humanité* that the empty revolutionary phraseology scared away the laboring masses, especially in the provinces, and instilled distrust in the trade unions. He added that what was wanted was less noise and more organisation work. Luke, the temporary secretary of the Confederation, wrote still more moderately "What the proletariat wants are real results, i.e., real reforms. And it has come to the conclusion that for the realisation and preservation of such reforms strong organisations are absolutely necessary."

The same revolutionary experience has been made by other "revolutionary" syndicates. They have lost the sarcastic and nagging tone in which they used to attack contemporary class-conscious proletarian organisations of Western Europe. As a result the majority of the trade unions established high membership dues. Their contempt for the necessity of numerous and powerful syndicates has vanished and such hot heads as the secretary of the metal workers' union, advises the workers to carefully prepare for each strike and to survey the field of battle before hand. A few ultra-syndicalists still pin their faith to "revolutionary manoeuvres." But from the debates at Marseilles it is clearly seen how quickly the French proletariat is freeing itself from the guardianship of neo-syndicalism.

In those debates no mention was ever made

[Continued on page 91.]

THE TYRANNY OF USURY.

—o—

THE TYRANNY OF USURY: A PLEA FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF EXCHANGES, by John McLachlan. Manchester. Leventhulme. 1d.

SUPERSTITION dies hard. Driven from the human mind on the religious side it endeavours to find entry on another, and no subject has brought it forward so many cranks, fadists and maniacs as the subject of the above pamphlet if we except religion.

The author, who, by his praise of Keir Hardie, is probably a member of the I.L.P., first defines usury as the total surplus taken by the capitalist class, and then narrows it down to the ordinary definition of interest, or the amount charged for the use of money or forms of credit. By a shuffling of these two definitions, when it suits him, he is able to skim over awkward points and give his case some small appearance of being worth consideration.

An attempt is first made to explain how it is that poverty exists. "Socialists usually lay stress upon Private Monopoly of Production and Distribution as the cause. But while this later assumption (?) is undoubtedly ultimately a true one, it is daily being borne in upon us that PRIVATE MONOPOLY OF EXCHANGE is proximately the cause of Unemployment (and, of course, of Poverty) through the operation of those commercial crises which have exercised until now the wit of capitalist apologists to explain."

What causes the crisis? The author gives the following description of a crisis while deferring the explanation of how it arises.

"On a given day let us assume, trade and commerce are exceedingly brisk. . . All is well—apparently. Suddenly the unthinking merchant discovers a difficulty in obtaining credit. Bankers call in their loans, refuse renewals, and decline to discount even the best paper except at high rates, credit being generally refused." The ordinary features of a crisis are then detailed. "The catastrophic" and "dogmatic" economists who used to say that the cause was overproduction are summarily dismissed as "antiquated." This sort of thing may have been the cause early in the nineteenth century, but is utterly fallacious to-day.

A so-called review of the crises of the nineteenth century is then given in an attempt to show that they were due to financial causes, and the following "general rules" are deduced.

(1) Unemployment and trade depression always succeed a Credit stringency.

(2) Financial Crises and Unemployment are quite possible as cause and effect without the additional factor of over-production which was formerly a feature of these crises.

(3) An increase in the currency always lessens the immediate strain upon the national credit."

All this leaves one quite in the dark as to why the unthinking merchant discovers a difficulty in obtaining credit" and what it is that causes a "Credit stringency." But the next chapter, headed "The Fallacy of the Gold Standard," attempts to explain the position gold occupies in the settlement of debts, and says, "It is legally enacted, we repeat, that debts must be paid in Gold on demand." A comparison is given between the liabilities of the banks and the gold in circulation, and the question is asked, "Why is our gold currency not larger? Ah! there's the rub!" If our currency were enlarged to the extent of giving representation to everything considered as negotiable the People would be freed from the obligation of paying for the money they use."

Lucien Sanial, in his introduction to the American edition of Marx's "Value Price and Profit," has pointed out the dangerous misleading given to the working class by the "revolutionary sounding but intensely bourgeois sophism of the Anarchist Proudon," and this warning applies with full force here. Further on we shall show the similarity of McLachlan's and Proudon's positions. Note the portion of the above quotation from pamphlet italicised by the author. Who are the people who find a difficulty in "paying for the money they use"? Not the working class in any sense of the word. Not the large capitalists, for they control the powers of government and have a currency suitable to their interests. There is left the

small capitalist and shopkeeping section, who, fond of calling themselves the "middle" class, find themselves unable to hold their old positions against the giant production and "chain store" system of distribution that is crushing them out in all directions. Hence this howl for an extension of "credit," and the introduction of "cheap" money for the purpose of paying their debts.

It is one of the stock lies of the money cranks to say that all exchange is a question of creditor and debtor and that all debts must be paid in gold. An exchange means to pass over one thing for another. Whether the things exchanged are directly use-values or not does not affect the point. If the commodity gold is given for the commodity fool then an exchange has taken place, but there is no creditor or debtor.

A debt only exists when a promise to pay in the future has been made. In the absence of any specific statement to the contrary, and only in this case, the creditor can demand payment in gold or in legal tender.

Moreover, the removal of this obligation would not alter the facts of the case one atom. If the currency gave representation to all things considered negotiable, where is the debtor to obtain this currency when his debts fall due? From the State bank, it may be answered. How will the bank advance the money? Upon the negotiability—that is, the saleability—of the debtor's things. But that is exactly what applies to-day, and it is only when his goods are unsaleable that he fails to pay his debts. In other words, it is because of the industrial crisis or depression that we have "Credit stringency" in various directions.

A striking illustration of this "stringency" fallacy was shown a little time ago when the L.C.C. floated the last loan. The money market was "tight" and business bad, yet the amount required was subscribed nearly forty times over. In other words this was a proof that bad trade caused the "stringency," and not the absence of currency, of which there were large amounts seeking sound investment. It is a well known fact that when trade is bad, or a crisis is upon us, there is more currency circulating than when trade is good. According to Mr. McLachlan's third general rule, this should lessen the strain. Therefore, the crisis should bring its own cure! Such is one of the absurdities these cranks lead themselves into.

In the section dealing with the Clearing House the author objects to the "commission" levied upon the paper transactions there recorded, and then says that this is "the toll paid by commercial men for the management of their accounts." Why he objects to this he does not say.

In the last section on "The Nationalisation of Exchange" the author reaches his grand panacea—and shows incidentally how superficial and shallow his knowledge is, and how easily he has been gullied by another money crank—Mr. Kitson. After stating that "to confer upon any single article the sole privilege of determining the values of all other commodities whatsoever is iniquitous," without giving any evidence that this is done, he gives us the following gems.

"What is value? Simply an exchange relation between conveniences." Then he says "cost of production must be reckoned with in all transactions." Here is a flat contradiction, for what has cost of production to do with the exchange relation? If it is answered that this decides the quantities in the exchange relation, he at once denies this, for in the next sentence he says "Value is determined by Supply and Demand and its relations are always changing in reference to changes in the supply of and demand for commodities." To explain this he follows the old dodge of the capitalist apologists who, as Marx has so caustically put it, always have to wander outside Capitalism in their endeavour to talk round awkward points. Mr. McLachlan therefore leaves modern society and goes to an island.

"If, on an island, there existed at a given time, 6 pigs, 4 sacks of flour, 12 sacks of potatoes, and two cows, it would follow that for the time being one cow would exchange for three pigs; for two sacks of flour; or for six sacks of potatoes. And if £1,000,000 in gold were imported, 1 cow would inevitably exchange for £500,000, while potatoes would cost £166,666 1s. 4d. per sack." And if I import 10 bricks each brick will be worth £100,000! Political economy up to date. "When any increase or

decrease takes place in the quantities on the market of any commodities the ratio of values (and, of course, the price) undergoes a corresponding change." In the above statements the immense superiority of the method of demonstration used is at once apparent. Dull, awkward things like facts, evidence, history, experience, are beneath our author's notice, and from the higher standpoint of his "inner consciousness" he evokes the proof in the words "it would follow." The only authority he can evoke is the "inimitable" Mr. Kitson, who says in his book "A Scientific Solution of the Money Question," that the only relation between commodities is number and that "*this is the only expression of value possible.*"

And yet a 3rd standard school boy can put a question that knocks the bottom out of the whole case. Why does a given number of one article exchange for a given number of another article? Mr. Kitson cannot tell us. His disciple says it is a question of division of the quantities existing into each other. Then how can we explain that the "Statistical Abstract" gives Raw Wool at 11.88d. per lb. while Woollen Yarn is given at 20.54d., or nearly double the price? Divide wool into wool and the result is—wool. Yet the difference in price is 8.34d.!

Finally we have the outline of the scheme for salvation laid down.

"A municipal bank would operate in this fashion. Let us take the case of a farmer short of ready money, but with 400 acres under wheat crops, estimated to produce from four to six quarters of grain per acre. His labourers want their wages. Ordinarily a credit stringency would cripple the farmer, whose workmen would also suffer as a result. But at our Municipal Bank he could monetise his credit based on 1,600 quarters of wheat. He draws notes no the Branch Bank at Puddleton and pays his workmen therewith, the notes circulating as legal tender, and being received by tradesmen in Puddleton and elsewhere on the strength of the stamp of the Puddleton Branch Bank. Farmer Brown doesn't pay 3½ per cent. for the accommodation, either: any charge upon his loan is calculated upon the cost of maintaining the Bank, which preferably should be a charge upon the local rates. Farmer Brown simply exchanges his unknown credit for that of the Bank, which forthwith debits him with the amount of the loan, payable in a given period of time by tendering a number of notes equal in total value to the amount of his loan. And this procedure could be followed in the case of all reputable citizens, commercial and industrial houses, shopkeepers, etc." In fact by everybody except the working class, whose "unknown credit" would fail to pass the bank test.

Passing by the numerous assumptions with which the above quotation bristles, the general position is that laid down by John Gray, afterwards plagiarised by Proudhon and crushingly dealt with by Marx in "Poverty of Philosophy" and "The Critique of Political Economy." How a tradesman would be better off in having to accept a note instead of gold for his goods it would be difficult to explain; while the experience of the French Assignats shows the folly of trying to pay debts with paper.

The quotation assumes sound security in one part and denies it in another. If the Bank issues notes upon security of an exchangeable value, then, as shown by the L.C.C. loan, there is plenty of money awaiting that use now. If the farmer's credit is "stringent," that means his security is of doubtful exchange value. Then where is the soundness of the Bank?

The only point that might be said to apply is the one that Farmer Brown would not pay 3½ per cent. for the loan. Ignoring at this stage the question of what it would actually cost to run the Bank, we can now see the economic interest standing behind this scheme. It is to relieve the farmers, commercial men, shopkeepers etc. from the burden of paying interest on their borrowed capitals. It is the attempt of the smaller section—financially speaking—of the capitalist class to increase their share of the surplus-value by cutting out one of those with whom they at present have to share that surplus, namely—the interest lord. So blatantly ignorant is the author of even the smallest conception of the working class position that he has the brazen to say that "It is safe to say that the [French] Revolution of 1848 failed mainly

because the insurgents neglected to capture the means of Exchange. The breakdown of the Commune was due, too, largely to the financial operations directed against it." Shades of Thiers and Gallifet! What friends you have in the Anarchists and the I.L.P.!

J. FITZGERALD.

LABOR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE. *continued.*

of a general strike. The responsibility for the August 3rd events was by all present placed upon the government's shoulders, but if the whole administration of the Confederation had not at that moment been behind prison bars, the "prehistoric" tactics of the "revolutionary" syndicalists would have been severely condemned there and then.

Lately, another secretary of the metal workers' union and a good "revolutionary" syndicalist, expressed himself thus: "I would like to know whether we will continue to pass resolutions, which in the future we are unable to carry out or defend. . . . I would that henceforth we shouldn't enter the battlefield for the pleasure and vanity of a few leaders, who themselves remain in the security of their homes." This arrow was intended for the theoreticians and a few of the remaining supporters with the pro-nationalisers' contentions.

JOTTINGS.

OWING to the agreement between the L. & N.W. and Midland railway companies, there results a reduction in the wages bill where that agreement is in operation.

* * *

We are often told by the advocates of railway nationalisation that the shorter hours of labour which would result from State ownership would mean an increase of workers employed. The details of the agreement between the above named companies have been issued as a White Paper, and certain statements therein disagree with the pro-nationalisers' contentions.

* * *

The Midland Company ran to Rugby over a branch line and the L. & N.W. ran to Leicester over a branch line. The L. & N.W. now work the Rugby section and the Midland the Leicester section. The result is a considerable reduction in the number of working hours. The employees now work but 3½ or four days per week. If this is the result of but a sectional inter-working, what would be the result upon employment of a State effort at organising traffic?

* * *

It must not be forgotten that "nationalisation presupposes the capitalist State still existent, the dividend mongers still in power, and a proletariat still unable, because of its lack of class-consciousness, to assume control of ALL the industries in the interest of the community. Now, as "nationalisation" of industries is carried out, necessarily, by and in the interest of the exploiting class, it would certainly involve a greater displacement of labour and a smaller wages bill, which in turn would mean decreased purchasing power on the part of the workers in most branches of industry. Of course, if the "nationalisers" can show that the exploiting class will pay a double or treble wages bill to that now paid for the same traffic receipts, then my contention falls to the ground.

* * *

I fear we Socialists will have to admit the truth of our opponents contention that "Socialism will abolish the home." It were folly to deny that we mean to abolish such homes as are described below.

* * *

"At a Huddersfield inquest yesterday on a baby that was said to have been suffocated, it was stated that the child's father and mother and three children all slept in one bed in a one-roomed house. *Natural causes* was the verdict." *Manchester Guardian*, 13.7.09.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.**RECEIVED—**

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Evening Call," (New York)
- "Labor" (St. Louis)
- "The Keel" (Tyneside)
- "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago)
- "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "The Flame," (Broken Hill)
- "Freedom," (London)
- "Anglo Russian," (London)
- "Rifleshot" (London)
- "Voice of Labour," (Johannesburg)

(To be concluded.)

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Natural causes, indeed! To say so is to say that the conditions are natural. Of course the capitalist-minded jury could return no other verdict. To say that the death was "unnatural" at once lays a charge at someone's door. The question then arising, followed to the solution, turns the inquest into an inquest on the capitalist system. It is better to resort to the old lie "natural causes."

JAYBEE.

THE BYE ELECTIONS.

o —

With the assistance of "Labour" the seats at Cleveland and Mid-Derby were "saved" for the capitalist Government, and it would be interesting to know just how that assistance was obtained. While it has often been said that Labour supported the Liberal in one place in exchange for Liberal support in another, on this occasion it would rather seem as if Labour had supported Liberalism in Cleveland in order that Labour might support Liberalism in Mid-Derby—a sort of political heads I win, tails you lose process, and certainly the Liberals have every reason to be pleased with the results. In both instances an independent Labour candidate was threatened, but in neither case was he allowed to come forward while in each place the Liberal nominee was supported. And could the whole history be written of the means employed to secure this end, a further and splendid vindication of our attitude of hostility to the so-called Labour parties would be obtained.

In Cleveland Mr. J. B. Stubbs, who had consented to be the "Labour" candidate for the constituency, was not run (according to the *Manchester Guardian*, 3.7.09) because "the Election is to be fought on Free Trade and the Budget, two issues upon which the Government and the Labour Party are united" (sic). The way was thus so far cleared for the workers being led to support Mr. Samuel, the Liberal. This gentleman officiated as the chief speaker at the annual demonstration of the Cleveland Miners, and it would appear said nothing to offend either master or man, for says the *Morning Leader* (6.7.09) "An interesting feature of Mr. Samuel's nomination paper is the fact that the proposer is Sir Hugh Bell, Lord Lieutenant of the county and chairman of the Mine-Owners Federation, while the seconder is Mr. Joseph Toyne, agent of the Cleveland Miners Association." (Italics ours.) Thus was Labour insulted and the seal set upon its degradation.

In Mid-Derby, however, instead of a superior, aristocratic intellectual of the Samuel type a "Liberal-Labour" was returned. Nevertheless from the Socialist working-class point of view, the result is the same: the enemy of the working class has been strengthened by an addition to the ranks of those "doing odd jobs in the Liberal workshop." The fact that some 4,000 members of the Nottingham Miners Association were on the Parliamentary register for the district was not lost upon the Liberal wire-pullers, and finding in Mr. Hancock (Miners' Agent) a Liberal after their own heart, they readily adopted him. He appeared before the Liberal Association by invitation and explicitly assured them that "he stood before them as a Liberal, although because the Miners' Association were affiliated to the Labour Representation Committee he was obliged to stand as a Labour candidate also." That would not, however, alter his principles. (1) He was a Free Trader, a Temperance advocate, a local preacher, and would love to have the bible read in the schools. (*Manchester Guardian*, 1.7.09.) He next signed the constitution of the Labour Party, and appearing before the I.L.P. assured them he was a Labour man, after which they decided with unanimity to support him. (*Manchester Guardian*, 9.7.09.)

As in Cleveland, however, the election was fought on capitalist Free Trade and the capitalist Budget, and although working-class funds and votes were exploited on behalf of Mr. Hancock, the appearance of such a motley crew of supporters, including Asquith, Lloyd, George down to "Mr. J. Keir Hardie, who wore the yellow favour of Liberalism," (*Daily News*, 13.7.09) amply proves it was but another victory for confusion.

A.

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The Socialist Standard,

SUNDAY,

AUG. 1, 1909.

Bloody Nicholas !

If the Labour Party engages in strenuous agitation, it is always for something that is utterly useless to the working class. It is in its agitation in favour of the capitalist budget, and so it was also in its protest against the visit of the Tsar. Whenever the boom of the "Labour" drum is heard it betokens an attempt to divert the attention of the workers from things that really matter, and to rally them in support of the class that battens upon their misery. This is the characteristic of the "Labour" and reform parties, and it is the reason why, even in the matter of the Tsar's visit, we are compelled to join issue with them.

The visit of Nicholas Romanoff will doubtless have taken place before these lines appear; but supposing it had been prevented, would the working class, or even the middle class, of Russia, have been benefitted in the slightest? Obviously they would no more have benefitted on this occasion than they did after his cowardly majesty abandoned his visit to Italy through dread of a hot-headed demonstration. Moreover, we read in the Labour Party's advertisement of their "Protest" (in the I.L.P. and S.D.P. organs) that the Tsar is "Our Guest"! And it is asked

"Will the hand of England be stained by grasping his?" We, in turn, protest against these "protesters." We deny that the Tsar is "our guest." He is solely the guest of our enemies, the capitalist class. And the "hand of England" (which, to-day, is that of the class who own and rule) can hardly be further or deeper stained by grasping the bloody hand of a brother in exploitation and repression.

Speaking for the I.L.P. in North London recently Jackson delivered himself to the following effect with reference to the S.P.G.B. "He had been in the Socialist Party but he had got tired of being out in the political desert. After four years he found he was wasting his time, so he—as he had always done, no matter what the cost—had come outside as he was after the truth and the right and he would hold by that to the end in spite of all obstacles. He had lost many friends, but principle with him came first, etc." He then endeavoured to ridicule the charges made by us against the I.L.P. by referring to their age, but not once did he attempt to deny the truth of them. His whole effort was calculated to give his hearers the impression that he had gone over because he sincerely believes the S.P.G.B. wrong and the I.L.P. right. But from correspondence in our possession we are able to prove that T. A. Jackson believes nothing of the sort. He knows that the S.P.G.B. is the Socialist Party, and alone worthy of the support of the workers. He knows that our attitude toward other parties is correct. He knows that our charges against them are true. But T. A. Jackson left the Socialist Party of Great Britain because that Party does not buy men to stay in it.

Then the owners claimed the right to introduce a double shift, which the men again opposed on the grounds of it being unhealthy owing to the gaseous nature of the South Wales coal. This idea was, naturally, scouted by the owners. The employers demanded that this provision should be enforced, saying that its enforcement was within the owners' option. On the other hand the miners claim that it cannot operate without their consent—a claim that the wording of the clause in no way supports. However, it has been decided to take a test case to the courts for a judgement thereon.

The eight hours per day may be extended as respects any mine on not more than sixty days in any calendar year by not more than one hour a day.

The employers demanded that this provision should be enforced, saying that its enforcement was within the owners' option. On the other hand the miners claim that it cannot operate without their consent—a claim that the wording of the clause in no way supports. However, it has been decided to take a test case to the courts for a judgement thereon.

True the "middle" class and their hangers-on often speak as though this country were the peaceful haven of freedom and happiness, and Tsardom the only repressive State in the world. But that is only because the middle class have yet to achieve their complete emancipation in Russia, while in England they are the ruling class, and themselves make use of "Russian" methods in governing dependencies, and even in crushing workers and strikers at home. It naturally makes all the difference to the "middle" class whether they are the upper or under dogs; but the worker is under dog all the time, and is crushed under both forms of class rule.

The capitalists of Western Europe are equally guilty with Russian despotism. Germany in S.W. Africa and Poland; Belgium on the Congo; France in Morocco; England in India and Ireland: each can parallel Russian atrocities. To take England as typical in internal affairs, capitalist rule condemns one third of the population to slow starvation, while thousands are killed or maimed yearly for the profit of the capitalist, and the mass of the people are condemned to leisureless, joyless lives of poverty, toil and suffering.

This is certainly evidence from the enemy in support of our contention that the time occupied in fighting for these reforms is a sheer waste as the general conditions of wage slavery still remain, and the evolution of capitalistic production in economising the methods employed, more than compensates the masters for the apparent benefit conferred upon the men by such reform.

On this point what is called a compromise has been effected and the miners are to have a share in deciding in every case whether the double shift is to be introduced. It may be left to the employer to see that the "share" of the men in this decision will not go against the owners' interests.

Further evidence comes from Staffordshire, where the pit lads came out on strike because the masters wanted to reduce the meal time to an extent that meant practically working the 8 hours right off.

Here again a compromise has been effected

whereby the men are to be allowed 20 minutes for their mid-day meal. If as the tale told of Gladstone relates, it is necessary to chew one's food thirty-two times before swallowing to keep one's digestion in order, then the miners will have to measure their mid-day meal by troy weight instead of avoid upos to keep in health.

For years past the miners have been asking for a legal 8 hours day. Now they have it their first actions are, in one direction to threaten, and in another to acutally strike against its effects. What stronger evidence can be given of the correctness of our position on palliatives?

help we can at present give to our Russian comrades is to push on faster the work of making Socialists and of exposing the rascality of the international ruling class. Indeed, before England can aid working class emancipation in Russia, England herself must be conquered by those who produce.

T. A. JACKSON.

WHEN early in the year the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain received from T. A. Jackson a deeply significant letter of resignation, neither resentment nor anxiety arose in the breasts of those who heard the pitiful epistle. Knowing the man's particularly bad circumstances, generous sympathy and pity came uppermost. Hoping that he might pass into oblivion without prejudice to the working class and Socialism we contemplated no action against him. This was not to be, however: Jackson has taken the pay and has to pipe the tune called—to wit, the mal-education and betrayal of the working class. So much to show that in publishing this exposure we are not animated by stupid feelings of spite, resentment or revenge.

We make no excuse for using every weapon to hand: as between feelings of old comradeship or the conventions upon the one hand and the well-being of the working class on the other, the Socialist can but choose the latter.

Information has reached this office that T. A. Jackson is now actively engaged speaking from the Clarion Van and the platforms of the "Independent Labour" Party. However unfortunate this may prove for the I.L.P., etc., does not much concern us: the duty of exposing a budding "Labour-fakir" and incidentally the removal of a false impression, is our reason for dealing with the matter in these columns.

Speaking for the I.L.P. in North London recently Jackson delivered himself to the following effect with reference to the S.P.G.B. "He had been in the Socialist Party but he had got tired of being out in the political desert. After four years he found he was wasting his time, so he—as he had always done, no matter what the cost—had come outside as he was after the truth and the right and he would hold by that to the end in spite of all obstacles. He had lost many friends, but principle with him came first, etc."

He then endeavoured to ridicule the charges made by us against the I.L.P. by referring to their age, but not once did he attempt to deny the truth of them. His whole effort was calculated to give his hearers the impression that he had gone over because he sincerely believes the S.P.G.B. wrong and the I.L.P. right. But from correspondence in our possession we are able to prove that T. A. Jackson believes nothing of the sort. He knows that the S.P.G.B. is the Socialist Party, and alone worthy of the support of the workers. He knows that our attitude toward other parties is correct. He knows that our charges against them are true. But T. A. Jackson left the Socialist Party of Great Britain because that Party does not buy men to stay in it.

In his letter of resignation he makes it abundantly clear that it was the hope of getting money for his services that induced him to join the "enemy," as he terms the I.L.P.

Jackson penned another to one of our comrades that is nothing short of a cynical presumption of our comrade's disloyalty to the working class. In this letter (Jackson, by requesting destruction of the letter sought to make our member an accomplice in treachery) he emphasises his guilt and makes the whole matter clear as a pikestaff. After referring to his own poverty and the prospects of "jobs and money" by belonging to the I.L.P., S.D.P., etc., he says "SO I WILL JOIN THE S.D.P., I.L.P., AND 'CLARION' MOB AND PEG AWAY—BLEED THE SWINES—TILL I AM EXPELLED."

More need not be said. Jackson has joined the ranks of those whom he formerly called "labour bleeders." He has become one of them and has left sufficient evidence to prove it. His letters above referred to deal also with other matters and are too long to print in full—unless Jackson wishes it; while should any interested in the matter doubt our bona fides arrangements can be made for the inspection of the originals at this office.

THOSE REFORM PATCHES.

ing of the Old Boiler, with a view to making it last longer, be a step towards a new one?

PEERT : My friend, you are really to impatious. If you only knew our Directors as well as I do you would talk more reasonably.

BURRIN : I believe I know enough about the Directors, but possibly I know more about the workers and Boilers. Besides, Mr. Peert, do you not think that if you were more insistent in asking for a New Boiler you would then get your beloved but useless Patches far easier and more often? Now just come along with me and have another look at the old crock, and you will see for yourself that —

PEERT : Oh, I know it is in a bad way and I admit that you understand these things better than I do. But when one has to deal with influential men like our Directors, who cling to their constitution, which, by the way, you must admit is a better one than any foreign power can boast of, why, one has to be careful.

BURRIN : Damn the constitution! The Old Boiler is rotten; the people are starving and degraded in spite of your bread and soup funds, and at the risk of losing my job, I tell you plainly, Mr. Peert, you are acting the goat in order to keep your already insecure place, and you are already currying favour with the powers that be, with one eye on the chance of your becoming one of those powers yourself.

You are well aware that the Patches are a delusion and a fraud, and I for one, will have nothing more to do with them.

BRITTON : Well, there are plenty more who will attend to them, Britten.

BRITTON : Unfortunately that is so at present, but there will be fewer who will attend to them before I lay down my tools for good.

Exit Britten into the workshop to have another dig at the Old Boiler, while Mr. I. L. Peert turns to meet the disconcerting glances of his fellow clerks, muttering something about "a troublesome chap."

SHALL WE WORK HARDER?

BRITTON : Mr. Peert! What is the good of talking about more patches? I am continually telling you that nothing less than a New Boiler is of any use whatever. The old one is quite worn out; it has served its turn and done very well—for the Directors—but is now only fit for the scrap heap. It has been patched to such an extent that there is little room left for another, indeed, you have to keep Patching previous Patches, and as fast as you try to make good one defect it breaks through in one or two other places. I repeat that the thing is quite rotten, and it is useless and futile to mess about with it any longer. You know quite well that our men are in a bad way owing to its present condition.

PEERT : Ah, yes, I quite agree, the Old Boiler is worn out and the men are suffering accordingly. But we must do nothing rash, Britten, or we shall spoil our case and not get even another Patch, and so long as the thing will hold together we must accept the Patches, if offered, as the directors will not order a new machine. I really dare not approach them with such a request. As regards the men, you know that I do my best for them as secretary of the soup kitchen and bread fund.

BRITTON : But what in the world is the good of that? It is only tinkering with the effects and does not touch the cause of all the trouble. Here is a machine that is quite worn out and unsafe, and the only remedy is a new one. You have been Patching the Old Boiler for generations, and all the time it has been getting worse. The people have been so blinded with Patches that they are unable to see the defective and dangerous condition of the machine, but you, Mr. Peert, profess to see the defects and agree, in the main, as to the only real remedy, and yet you talk "Patches" like the rest of them. Its folly, Sir, absolute folly.

PEERT : No, Britten, you are wrong in not being more expedient in your methods. You will never get anything if you ask for it all at once; you must learn to be more judicious—I have to be judicious or I would very soon lose my job—and only ask for a part, and then you will possibly get some. Now every Patch is a step in the direction of a New Boiler—

BRITTON : What! How on earth can the Patch-

we can "achieve increased social betterment."

Increase the means of wealth production to any extent you like and it can be shown that the workers would be where they are to-day—in poverty. (An instance is recorded in our issue of March last under the heading "A Cutting Cutting" where a surplus of textile products provided a splendid opportunity for a lock-out of the operatives and a little more starvation.) The introduction of new and cheaper methods of production, and therefore, means of producing wealth in greater abundance, to-day only results in the throwing out of employment many of the workers engaged in the particular industry in which the new methods are introduced, an increase in the army of the unemployed, greater poverty and misery for the workers. True, a reduction in the time necessary for the production of the necessities of life means the cheapening of the cost of living; but a fall in the cost of living results in the cheapening of the production and maintenance of the worker. The continued and enhanced competition of the workers for jobs soon reduces wages to the new cost of subsistence, while a decrease in wages results in the increased exploitation of the worker, a greater amount of surplus-value or profit for the employers, and an even greater disparity between the two classes. So then, while the means of production and distribution remain in the hands of a small section of the community, any new inventions that may arise to lessen the time necessary for the production of wealth only results in increased affluence and luxury for the few while the great bulk of the people remain in a perpetual state of poverty.

Not until the whole of the means and implements of production and distribution are owned and controlled by, and in the interest of, the entire community, will the great mass of the people enjoy the advantages that accrue from an improvement in the means of wealth production. Then, and not until then, will every new invention be hailed as an advantage to all, either to reduce the collective labour of the community or to increase the comforts and opportunities of its members.

If then, it is possible to produce sufficient wealth to satisfy the requirements of the whole community under the present wasteful competitive system, how much more within the bounds of possibility will it be under a system where competition for existence will be entirely eliminated and where industry will be so organised that only that labour which is absolutely necessary for the production of wealth will be expended, where the large army of people now engaged in the advertising trade, as travellers, policemen, soldiers, man-o'-war-smen, workhouse officials, funkeys, judges, lawyers, clerks, priests, and a host of others would be employed in useful, productive labour. These trades and professions arise out of and are necessary under a system based upon the private monopoly of the means of life, and will disappear with their transformation from private to social property.

Mr. Lever continues "The natural order of social progress must inevitably be first to produce material comfort, followed by intellectual, moral and social advancement." It is something for a member of the capitalist class to recognise the necessity for satisfying the material wants and requirements of the community before any improvement in the intellectual and moral status of the people can be effected. When the means of decent living are assured to all, then and only then will the great mass of the people be elevated from the physical, intellectual and moral enslavement in which they are enveloped to-day. The means of life can only be assured to the whole of society by the demolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. This can be achieved when the workers get to understand their true class position, see the necessity for the change and determine to emancipate themselves from the slavery in which they exist to-day, brush aside the idea that "Socialism will not come in our time," and realise the fact that as soon as the workers, who outnumber the other class by about eight to one, understand and determine to have Socialism, they will get it. As the late Lord Salisbury once said, "Nothing can go against the voice of the people."

So then, join the S.P.G.B. immediately you understand and agree with its principles, and make one more pillar in the foundation of the Socialist Republic.

H. A. Young.

THE FORUM. SOME OPEN DISCUSSIONS.

OUR POSITION QUERIED.

Mr. Harrison (Salford) writes:

I should esteem it a favour if you would explain through your journal the following points. (1) Does the S.P.G.B. control the votes of its members by similar conditions that obtain for the speakers? (2) Does the Party consider it futile for members to use their votes in support of the other political parties (S.D.P., I.L.P., Liberal, Conservative, etc.) when not represented by their own Party? It only remains to be said, in referring our inquirer back to the syllogism, that as neither the S.D.P. nor the I.L.P. stand in opposition to the capitalist class (they both support capitalist candidates and otherwise ally themselves with the master class on the political field, see S.P.G.B. Manifesto) they therefore cannot represent interests opposed to the capitalist class. They do not stand opposed to all other political parties, hence they are not in actual fact, and judged by their deeds—not their words, parties seeking working-class emancipation. The political arena being merely the battle-field of class interests, where every tie and obligation is forgotten, every allegiance cast to the wind, every barrier swept away, saving only the barrier of class interests, those who, found upon that battle-field, do not stand with us upon our side of that barrier, are against us. Do we think it futile to support such as these? Oh, we think it much worse than futile!

The third point concerns our 31st and last rule, which lays it down that the Party shall only contest elections by putting forward a candidate for each vacancy in the particular ward, district or constituency, and that no member, though elected, shall take office unless the whole number for the particular ward, district or constituency be elected.

Once again Mr. Harrison is referred to the sixth clause of our Declaration of Principles. If the three propositions of the syllogism are true, if in particular the last of them—"The party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other political party"—is correct, then hostility to all other parties must be one of the basic principles of its political activity. A vote, to be of any value to such a party, must be the vote of a person who is also hostile to every other party, and no such voter could be guilty of the idiocy of voting both ways, or giving one vote for Socialism, as symbolised by the S.P. candidate, and one for capitalism, as expressed by the candidates of all other parties. Neither could the class-conscious worker who has the opportunity of voting for two Socialist candidates, use the vote in one case and wilfully fail in the other. The rule is a safeguard against building up a position upon such votes as these. That such a safeguard is necessary will be at once seen when we consider the position of men who are elected by unsound votes. Whatever their private and individual opinions may be, in their public and official capacity they are neither more nor less than those who put them in office. The real power is not the man, or the seat, but those who control the one because the other is in their gift. It is a remarkable fact that those who so proudly label themselves Social Democrats, in contradistinction to us (who are merely Socialists), are blind to this first axiom of democracy, that power is with the electors, and not with the elected. They are guilty of undemocratic action at very outset, in suggesting, and acting upon, the idea that once in position, under no matter what pretext, they make themselves the masters of those who have placed them there, and who have power to presently cast them out. This is the very essence of demagogic, the central idea of bosses and fakers, the cherished instrument of all working-class cheats and misleaders and men who have taken "the print of the golden age" and want to "get there" for various reasons. Against a majority of men so elected, and upon such a mandate presuming to take action upon the only lines that could seriously touch capitalist interests—revolutionary lines—the master class would find their easiest and simplest remedy in an appeal to the country! Those who had voted for reform would soon settle the attempt to cheat them into Revolution. Well if that appeal did not take the shape of bloody suppression, aided, connived at, or at least passively disapproved of by those constituents who had sanctioned reform only. This is why the masters are not afraid of the "Labour" Party. They know them at once for dishonest men, who

Yours truly, H. HARRISON.

In reply to Mr. Harrison's first question the only rules giving the Party control over speakers specifically are rules 2 ("A member shall not speak from any other political party platform except in opposition") and 6 (which requires that before a member is put on the official lecture list he shall give evidence of the possession of the necessary knowledge and ability to expound the principles of Socialism and defend the position of the Party).

The same reason which led to the formulation of the quoted item of rule 2 makes it clear that a like control, at least as far and as effective as the "secret ballot" will allow, over the votes of members is exercised by the Party. That reason is found in the opening sentence of the last clause of our Declaration of Principles, where it is declared that our Party "enters the field of political action determined to wage war upon all other political parties whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist." This being the position of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, it follows that no member can use his vote in favour of any other political party without acting contrary to the principles he subscribed to upon becoming a member. The sixth clause of the Declaration contains a syllogism—two premises and a conclusion which necessarily follows from them. The premises are: "All political parties are but the expression of class interests" and "The interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class." The conclusion arrived at from these two propositions is that "the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other political party." The only possible ground of escape from this conclusion is that these two classes are not the only ones in society. Apart from this, if the two premises are correct, then the conclusion must be correct also, and that being so, members of such party must not in any circumstances support by any political activity, whether of voice or pen or at the ballot box, any other political party. Of course, it is open to Mr. Harrison (or anyone else) to suggest

that the two classes named are not the only ones in society, or to challenge the truth of one or both of the premises, but until that is done the answer must be regarded as conclusive.

The reply to the first question may be extended to the second, which is "Does the Party consider it futile for its members to use their votes in support of the other political parties (S.D.P., I.L.P., Liberal, Conservative, etc.) when not represented by their own Party?" It only remains to be said, in referring our inquirer back to the syllogism, that as neither the S.D.P. nor the I.L.P. stand in opposition to the capitalist class (they both support capitalist candidates and otherwise ally themselves with the master class on the political field, see S.P.G.B. Manifesto) they therefore cannot represent interests opposed to the capitalist class.

What is our object in seeking representation? Simply the seizure of the political machinery for the purpose of overthrowing capitalism. We do not want the so-called palliatives—for they don't palliate. Even if they did we should condemn the present system and clamour for a new one, for obviously it is the business of those interested in the continuance of the capitalist system to patch it up to last a little longer. And the louder we shout for its demolition the harder will they try to patch it up. It is our business to show the rotteness within—theirs to present a fair exterior: it is not for us to show them how to perpetuate their domination. We have work enough to see that the reformers do not lull the workers into such apathetic belief in the possibilities of the capitalist system that it shall be left to fall of its own rotteness, and plunge humanity into fatal chaos born of its own ignorance and unpreparedness. Seeking representation therefore, for the purpose named, we desire to build up our position with sound bricks, or sound, revolutionary votes, in order that it may be a true index of our strength and we may be neither led nor driven into the appeal to force until the time is ripe. It is in order to assure, as far as possible, that every vote given us shall be a clear demand for the ending of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism in course of preparation.

The final question concerns the meaning of the terms "Revolutionary Socialism" and "Revolutionary Socialist." Well, the terms mean simply "Socialism" and "Socialist." There is no need to qualify these two plain words, for as Socialism at this stage implies revolution, Socialism must necessarily be revolutionary and every Socialist a revolutionary. Some of us who now know better may have been guilty of thus distinguishing terms that need no such distinction, but as we get older and learn the ropes we realise that speaking of "revolutionary" Socialism may create, does create, the impression that there is a form of Socialism which is not revolutionary, and of Socialists who are not revolutionary—an absurdity, at least until such time as (long after the realisation of the Socialist system) evolution shall have made the upholders of that system reactionaries against the system that is to follow it—if such a time ever comes. But it is probably the term "revolutionary" that is in question. The word "revolution," from which the adjective is derived, signifies the entire change in the nature of the social structure which distinguishes Socialism from capitalism. It is the very antithesis of reform. Its root, germ or essence is the changing of the very basis of society—the property condition—while the root principle of reform is to preserve the social basis as the essential of perpetuating the social fabric unchanged. It is evident that one cannot be both revolutionary and reformer at the same time. To act in both directions at once, if such a thing is at all possible, is but to negate oneself, to cancel one's political activity, to reduce oneself to the standing of the passive supporter of the *status quo*, and therefore of the anti-Socialist. The term "revolutionary," then, implies the advocate of a change in the basis of society, and a "revolutionary Socialist" is a revolutionary who advocates that in making that change, it shall take the form of substituting social ownership of the means of producing and distributing wealth for the present private ownership of these things. But as only thus can Socialism appear, every Socialist must be revolutionary, and is best known as a Socialist only.

A. E. J.

August 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

of the quasi-Socialist that the social edifice can be reformed. They must try and patch up the crumbling structure in order that it may last a little longer. Unnecessary to state, the dominant class will do this in their own interests which are tied up in capitalism. Once more if there is any truth in that clause of our Declaration of Principles which declares that the interests of the master class and the working class are diametrically opposed then the duty of revolutionaries is clear. The reform becomes the reactionaries' defense, therefore it must be attacked tooth and nail. It will be defended, for it is the last ditch of capitalism, beyond which is nothing but the force of arms on the open battle field. So we shall have to take their reforms as long as we are not strong enough to reject them, and when the master class are too weak to continue to force their reforms upon us, then indeed the day of the Social Revolution is near at hand.

In view of the space already occupied, Mr. Harrison must be referred to our 43rd issue for the answer to the fifth query. Under the title of "Can a Christian be a Socialist" the matter was ably dealt with. Further, a pamphlet on the subject of Socialism and Religion is in course of preparation.

(2) No, the workers do not pay the taxes (national), that is to say are not, by so much, out of pocket; for if in some cases it can be shown that the imposts have the effect of raising the price of commodities, these latter if consumed by the workers enter into the cost of production of labour-power. As a consequence, and in the long run, such wages have to be paid as will meet this cost.

As to the extra duties imposed by the present budget upon beer, spirits and tobacco, we are of opinion that the last has not been heard, by any means, upon this matter. It were well to note that the price of alcoholic liquors has not risen all over the country, and that the Press reports cases where retailers have defied the orders of the brewers to raise the price; these same retailers, of course, doing a roaring trade in consequence. The tobacco trade is, to-day, very largely monopolised, its controllers being in a position, at least for a time, to raise prices, and they are, of course, only too glad of the opportunity to do so when, as at present, with the excuse of the increased duties they seem justified, and the least outcry is to be expected. Their power to exact higher prices is, however, curbed by the tendency of demand to slacken as prices rise. This point is emphasised in the recent manifesto of the brewers on the new budget duties, wherein they show the intimate connection of an increase in prices with a decrease in sales.

The attention of our correspondent is further directed to the following quotation (from the *Star* of July 19th), which speaks for itself.

Notices have been received by the retailers announcing that the price of Messrs. Will's "Gold Flake" cigarettes is to revert to the old figure.

When the Budget was announced, the price to the consumer was raised to 3½d., but the result has not justified expectation, for the price is now to go back to 3d.

It is probable that other brands of cigarettes will come into line and revert to the old retail prices.

(3) Do we deny that our correspondent pays rent? Not likely! We are not in possession of the facts. However, taking our questioner as representative, he most certainly pays away part of his wages as "rent," which in this case is clearly the price of a house-room. Now such rent is not all surplus-value, and we have never stated that it is such. Ground-rent, received by the ground-lord, is distinctly "a portion of surplus-value." Mr. Rhind's difficulty is that he has only a confused notion of our position, and space is lacking for us to deal more fully with the matter here. He will find our position regarding taxation in general more fully explained in the October 1909 number of the *Socialist Standard*, while the particular question of the rates is dealt with at length in the issue of June, 1905. —Editor "S.S."

CONCERNING RATES AND TAXES.

Mr. John Rhind (Old Trafford) writes:

(1) I have often heard it stated in the *Socialist Standard*, as well as by members of your Party, that the working classes do not pay rates in the form of rent. I fail to see the truth of that statement in view of the fact that my landlord has raised my rent in consequence of the local rates being increased.

(2) Again, do not the workers pay taxes (national) in the form of additional charges being made on such commodities as beer, spirits and tobacco, when, as recently, the duty on these things has risen?

(3) If rent is a portion of surplus-value, as you maintain, can it be rightly said that I, for instance, do not pay rent? My experience is

"THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS."

COPIES of the above four-part song

—S., A., T., B.—complete with pianoforte accompaniment and Tonic-Solfé setting may be obtained, price 3d., or post free 3½d., through the branches or from the Head Office.

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THE BUTCHER OF THE COMMUNE.

"It is a lie, their Priests, their Pope,
Their Saints, their . . . all they fear or hope
Are lies, and lies . . ."

Had Robert Browning's victim of the Inquisition lived in our own time she could have added "their Press" to her list of lying agents. The truth of this is never more clearly seen than on the occasion of a popular military "hero" shuffling off this mortal coil.

On July 5th, at his house in Paris, expired General the Marquis de Gallifet, Prince of Martigny, etc., at the advanced age of 79. This old Bonapartist scoundrel, referred to by capitalist journals, both French and English, as "Famous French Fighter," "Friend of King Edward," "Great loss to France," etc., etc., was in reality an unscrupulous and abandoned wretch, who, by his cold-blooded murders at the time of the Commune, earned the undying hatred of all who hold dear the cause of working-class freedom.

As Socialists we cannot fail to be struck by the wonderful and significant unanimity displayed by the organs of Capital on both sides of the Channel, when estimating the dead "hero's" character.

Thus the *Daily News*, peaceful persuader and mouthpiece of reform, whilst lightly touching on his "severe repression in 1871," gave due prominence to "his services to France." The *Petit Journal* of July 9th wrote as follows:

Eclectrics of character could not justify the story of executioner in civil warfare. It is said he took a fiendish pleasure in butchering conquered federals who had fallen into his hands. No trustworthy evidence of any weight has ever come to light to support these accusations, against which he was always unwilling to defend himself; finding that, as he himself once wrote in a letter, "to apologise would be wanting in elegance!"

No trustworthy evidence!

The Commune was dead. The last barricade had been captured and its brave defenders either massacred or taken prisoners.

The special correspondent of the *Daily News* (how "the whirligig of time brings in his revenge") whilst searching for appropriate "copy" amongst the barricades, had the misfortune to fall in with Gallifet's soldiers who, despite the fact that the pressman held a pass from the Versailles Government, forced him to join a herd of unarmed prisoners.

These poor wretches were being marched from Paris to Versailles.

The description by this eye-witness of the scenes on the road has often been quoted.

The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Ubrich, and was drawn up, four deep, on the footway, facing to the road. General the Marquis de Gallifet and his staff . . . dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking down slowly and evading the ranks, the General stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out from the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual selected was marched out into the centre of the road, where a small supplementary column was thus soon formed. . . . It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Gallifet a man and a woman for some particular offence. The woman, rushing out of the ranks, threw herself on her knees, and, with outstretched arms, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The General waited for a pause, and then with most impulsive face and unmoved demeanour, said: "Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris; your acting will have no effect upon me." . . . It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, darker, cleaner, older, or uglier than one's neighbours. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose. . . . Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party was told off, and the column resumed its march leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily convicted wretches.

Daily News, June 8th, 1871

This description was deemed worthy of a leading article on the next day. The following is a brief abstract:

. . . For the touch of M. de Gallifet's fingers meant death. The appearance of the unfortunate men and women who were thus singled out for execution is described as being something horrible. One already wounded, his shirt soaked with blood, sat

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST.

(LONDON DISTRICT)

SUNDAYS.	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	F. Joy	A. Barker	J. H. Halls
" Earlsfield, Magdalene Road	7.30	T. W. Allen	J. E. Roe	H. Newman
" Clapham Common	11.30	E. Fairbrother	J. Kemble	A. Barker
" East Ham	7.30	H. Cooper	E. Fairbrother	J. E. Roe
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30	H. King	J. Kennett	"
Finsbury Park	3.30	F. Dawkins	F. C. "Watts	H. Newman
Kennington Triangle	11.30	J. Halls	F. Leigh	F. Dawkins
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	"	J. Kennett	T. W. Allen	F. C. Watts
Paddington, Prince of Wales	"	F. Leigh	J. Crump	F. Dawkins
Peckham Triangle	7.30	J. E. Roe	H. Cooper	J. Crump
Tooting Broadway	11.30	H. Martin	F. Leigh	T. W. Allen
" Tottenham, West Green Cn.	7.30	F. Joy	R. Kent	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30	A. Anderson	J. W. Allen	R. Kent
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0	E. Fairbrother	J. Kemble	F. Joy
Watford, Market Place	7.30	E. C. Watts	J. H. Halls	T. W. Allen
West Ham, Boleyn Tavern	8.30	J. Kennett	H. King	A. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	R. Kent	F. W. Stearn	R. Kent
"	7.30	J. Crump	A. W. Pearson	A. W. Pearson
MONDAYS. —Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Park, 8. Peckham, Bassano-st., 8.30.				J. Crump
TUESDAYS. —Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.				
WEDNESDAYS. —East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Peckham, Collyer's-place, 8.30. Paddington, Victoria-rd., High-rd., Kilburn, 8.30. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 p.m.				
THURSDAYS. —Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Cn., 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Lewisham Mkt., 8.30. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8.				
FRIDAYS. —Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.				
SATURDAYS. —Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.				

down in the road and howled with anguish. others wept silence; two soldiers, presumed to be deserters, pale but collected, appealed to all the other prisoners as to whether they had ever seen them amongst their ranks. . . . The huddled mass of corpses which was subsequently seen by several horror-stricken correspondents showed where M. le Marquis had passed.—*Daily News*, June 9, 1871.

From the "Manifesto of the Working Men's International" we take the following: "The captured soldiers of the line were massacred in cold blood; . . . Gallifet, the kept man of his wife, so notorious for her shameless exhibitions at the orgies of the Second Empire, boasted in a proclamation of having commanded the murder of a small troop of National Guards, with their captain and lieutenant, surprised and disarmed by his Chasseurs."

Does the *Petit Journal* want any further evidence?

Our message is to the working class. We bid them to remember that at all times the powers that be are determined to maintain their supremacy by every means in their power. If they cannot gull the workers by political cheating, lying and chicanery, they are prepared to shoot down men, women and children by thousands rather than surrender one jot or tittle of their beloved "rights of property."

Like every other class in the course of history, the ruling class came into power by means of the command they held of armed force. When we have sifted and winnowed out the chaff of "comforts of religion," "respect for law and order," "adaptability," and all the other canting phrases beloved of labour misleaders we find that the ultimate appeal is to force. Ignorance plays a great part in helping to keep the workers in subjection, but it is by force the "super" class hold their position. We must consciously organise therefore for the capture of the armed forces in order to convert them from an instrument of oppression into an agent of emancipation. Let this "consummation devoutly to be wished" once become a fact, then those brave souls who perished in the Commune will not have died in vain.

MANIFESTO OF THE Socialist Party of Great Britain

Third Edition, with preface.

Explains the Party's position towards the S.D.F., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1d. per copy from the S.P.G.B., 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C.

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August 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to "quality, and slavery to freedom."

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

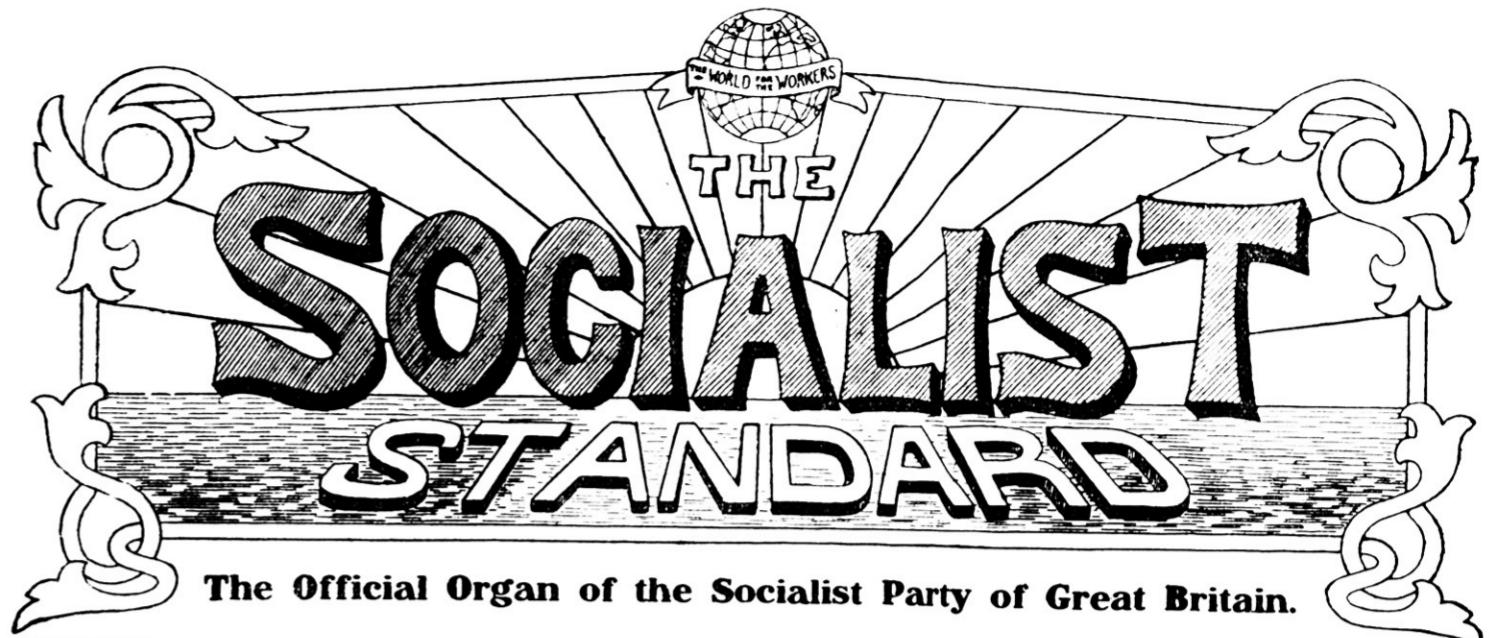
Address.....

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Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 61. Vol. 6.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1909.

[MONTHLY. ONE PENNY.

THE GROWTH OF LABOR FAKING, AND ITS FRUITS.

If the birth of the Socialist Party of Great Britain five years ago did not exactly sound the death-knell of Labour-fakerdom, it at least laid the foundation of the revolutionary Socialist movement in this country—a movement that, owing to its sound, invincible principles, must in spite of many vicissitudes eventually succeed in sweeping completely out of existence the present reactionary labour movement, which is so magnificently serving the capitalist class as a powerful brake upon the wheel of the Social Revolution.

When in June 1904 a number of determined, uncompromising Socialists left the (then) Social Democratic Federation (now S.D.P.) and established the S.P.G.B., it was not, as interested labour misleaders even now assert, "to spite the S.D.F. or to attain position and admiration in a sphere where there were better opportunities.

No, they took up this struggle against tremendous odds because they had come to the conclusion that all working-class organisations then existing in this country, including the would-be-Socialist S.D.F., clearly served the purpose of aiding the capitalist class in their efforts to gull and chloroform the workers, thus preventing it from understanding the need for and means of its entire emancipation.

The S.D.F., during the early years of its existence, although even then victimised by eager office-seekers and charlatans, at least carried on a revolutionary propaganda, and its branches and members refrained from compromising with the possessing class.

But with the advent of the Independent Labour Party in the early nineties, the ambition and greed of S.D.F. "leaders" burst forth in a keen combat for the sweets of office in Trade Unions, and for supremacy in the political field. The "new Trade Unionism," which was to be used by the S.D.F. "stalwarts" for "Socialist" permeating purposes, proved an easy and most effective means of adding to the then already large number of labour fakers, a motley crowd of would-be-revolutionist permeators, who, in the long run, turned out to be far greater misleaders of the working class than any of the pure and simple labour men.

And when some years later the labour-misleading was extended to the political field and the Labour Representation Committee sprang into existence, subsequently succeeded by the official Parliamentary Labour Party,

The Pot and Kettle, and earth in the effort to succeed in their competition for political "prestige" against the "labour" crowd, who, then, according to S.D.F. opinion, were merely the tail-end of the Liberal Party.

But this was only a pious opinion on the part

of the S.D.F., who for some time joined the Labour Representation Committee, to leave it because this avowedly non-Socialist body would not permit the affiliated S.D.F. to run its candidates as Social Democrats.

This formally leaving the L.R.C. did not, however, mean that the crafty string-pullers of the S.D.F. had given up all idea of co-operating (as Mr. H. Quelch calls it) with the class unconscious labour movement. On the contrary, the knowing E.C. of the S.D.F. encouraged and even ordered their branches to join the local Labour Representation Committees, which by now have everywhere swallowed up the S.D.F.

Thus while at annual conferences and in the pages of *Justice* the organisation repudiates the idea of affiliating to the Labour Party, S.D.P. branches and members are financially and actively supporting that party through the local Labour Representation Committees.

When in 1900 Mr. Will Thorne broke with impunity the rules of the S.D.F. and ran as Parliamentary candidate for South West Ham under the auspices of the non-Socialist Labour Party, good S.D.F.ers shut their eyes to the fact. Mr. Thorne has since remained a faithful member of the Labour Party, and to-day can boast of having as one of his colleagues Mr. Hancock, M.P., the hero of Mid-Derby, who was so heartily supported and congratulated by the Liberal Party

Our Forecast is vindicated. through the Featherstone butcher Asquith and the Radical trickster Lloyd-George.

Writing in the SOCIALIST STANDARD in 1904 (October issue) on "The Futility of Reform," we concluded by saying:

"We have, therefore, to recognise all the time that it is only possible to secure any real benefit for the people when the people themselves become class conscious, when behind the Socialists in Parliament and on other bodies there stands a solid phalanx of men clear in their knowledge of Socialism and clear in their knowledge that the only way to secure the Socialist Commonwealth of the future is to depend only upon the efforts of themselves and those who have the same class-conscious opinions. Therefore we have no palliative programme. The only palliative we shall ever secure is the Socialist Society of the future gained by fighting uncompromisingly at all times and in every season."

And in an article in the March 1906 issue of our organ, entitled: "Labour at the Polls" we wound up with the following statement:

"Sufficient has been said to show the hollowness of the claim that there has been a victory for Labour or a triumph for Socialism. If further evidence is required one has only to take the declarations of the successful candidates as to

why they won and what they think should be done. Free Trade, Trades Disputes Bill, Chinese Labour and the like. There is only one phrase that will express the result—it was a victory for confusion."

Capitalism. And to-day, looking at the results of the reform and palliative propaganda of the Labour Party, Independent Labour Party, and S.D.P. inside and outside Parliament, we may emphatically add to the above our present pronouncement, namely: *The parliamentary career of the Labour Party has proved a tremendous boon to the Capitalist class.*

To the manner in which the "Labour" M.P.s sought and received the suffrage of the unhappy class-unconscious workers we need hardly refer in this place. Those of our readers who desire to know all about it or wish to refresh their memories are earnestly recommended to read the March 1906 issue of this paper.

Being prepared to criticise the Labour Party and their would-be-Socialist allies on the basis of their own pretences we shall here take it for granted that all the Social Reforms since 1906 were inspired and forced through Parliament by the Labour Party.

Let us see. First came the Trades Disputes Bill.—Sequence, capitalists don't bother very much whether Trade Unions use their funds for lock-outs or strikes, as they (the capitalists) are pretty sure to come out right side up, while police interference with pickets goes on just the same.

Then followed the glorious Compensation Bill.—Result, one worker in ten thousand is compensated and hundreds, nay thousands, of them, especially those getting a little feeble and over thirty-five years of age, are discharged from or refused employment because the Insurance Companies will not take the risk.

After that the great measure of "feeding the children" an optional law. Result, wherever adopted wages tend more rapidly downwards, as the workers are able to offer themselves more cheaply to the employer, their requirements being partly attended to "out of the rates."

Next came the mighty Old Age Pension scheme of 5s. per week at 70 years of age (except for those who have been in prison, or [worse] have received poor relief). Result, the capitalists save 7s. 6d. per head, as it costs on the average quite 12s. 6d. per week to keep a "pauper" in the workhouse.

Hysop and vinegar. We do not lay stress on two "minor" points, namely, that the average life duration of the worker is at cut 33 years and that they are now generally considered too old for work at forty.

It is, indeed, amusing to hear the members of the I.L.P. and S.D.P. allege that Parliament did

not pass the "Right to Work" Bill of the Labour Party because it contained the "germ" of the solution of the unemployed problem. Such argument only proves that these men do not understand capitalism or the position of the capitalist class. There are, indeed, few wide-awake capitalists now-a-days, who do not know that it would be sheer, downright class suicide were they to seek the abolition of unemployment. Why the capitalist Parliament did not pass the "Right to Work" Bill was because they know that it is economically impossible to carry it through under the capitalist system. But the capitalists are artful enough to understand that a great number of unsophisticated workers firmly believe in the Bill being "a step in the right direction," and worth fighting for. Why then should the capitalists be stupid enough to pass the measure and prove in that way its impracticability, and so force the attention of the reform-mongers in the direction of revolution, that is, Socialism?

Coming to Mr. Lloyd-George's wonderful "democratic Budget" (which was inspired, they say, by Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., I.L.P., P.L.P., etc.), the enthusiastic support given it by the Labour Party (even the "revolutionary" Will Thorne does not squirm) shows that these people are nought else than so many masquerading Radicals, playing into the hands of the capitalist class, while thousands of ignorant but honest proletarians still think that they (the Labour Party) are doing something for them. Fancy! here are these "great Socialists" in Parliament kidding the workers that the little quibble between this land-owner and pick-pocket industrial capitalist will result in returning to the workers more and more of that "blessed uneared increment so unjustly retained by those very wealthy chaps," you know. And that in face of the fact that the workers are getting worse off every day!

Finally, we must refer to the Labour Exchanges and insurance against unemployment proposals. The former is indeed a good and easy way to facilitate the separating of the young, sturdy and cheap workers from the old, feeble and more expensive. While the latter, like the Old Age Pensions law, is merely an instalment of that reshaping of the Poor Law system so often promised, a readjustment that will leave the workers if anything worse off than at present, for it does not even pretend to lessen unemployment, and tends to weaken what organisation the workers have, to the greater extension of capitalist control.

In placing the foregoing brief survey of the recent history of labour-faking before the thoughtful wage workers we hope to render a service to our class, and believe that, enlightened by the information contained in our "Manifesto" and in the SOCIALIST STANDARD, they will at last throw off those who throttle them to-day, and see that only Socialism is the workers' programme. Fortunately, there are many signs at hand that the rank and file of the S.D.P. and I.L.P. are growing tired of their leaders compromise with the Liberal Party and of the reform and palliative propaganda in face of the inevitable increase of poverty, unemployment, and insecurity of occupation among the workers. Let us therefore plod on with our revolutionary propaganda! The truth of uncompromising Socialism is bound to conquer at no distant period over the combined forces of capitalism and labour-fakery.

H. J. N.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Evening Call" (New York)
- "Labor" (St. Louis)
- "The Keel" (Tyneside)
- "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "Industrial Union Bulletin" (Chicago)
- "Western Wage-Earner," (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "The Flame" (Broken Hill)
- "Freedom," (London)
- "Anglo Russian," (London)
- "Voice of Labour," (Johannesburg)
- "The International" (London)

Replies to Messrs. Harrison, Walsh and S.H. in our October issue.

THAT BLESSED FIVE BOB.

UNDoubtedly the national pride is the national "qualities of head." John Bull, whatever his heart may be, is blessed with a particularly hard head, and he knows it. It is no use trying to fill him up with yarn. No, he will tell you, he maintains a special corps of amphibians whom he designates the "horse marines," chosen for the phenomenal capacity of their swallows, whose particular duty it is to swallow yarns of all sorts. To them with the "unvarnished tale," the "bald and unconvincing narrative": John Bull will have none of them. He will believe his eyes and his ears. What he can see or hear or taste or touch or smell he knows and believes to exist. The concrete, the tangible, the material, "of the earth earthly," ah! he is at home there, and treads with bold and confident step where, if he were more of an angel and less of a hard-headed, practical man of the world, he might fear to tread. But when it comes to theories, when it comes to economic laws, when it comes to abstract principles, John is out of patience—he gave up the belief in spooks and spirits about the same time that he gave the Church the cold shoulder, since when the petrification of his head has become a happily completed process. His capacity for faith has been worn out, the only vestige of it remaining, like the footprint of some extinct monster preserved in imperishable rock to show what once was (and as warning to I.L.P.'ers and others who cannot adapt themselves to their times) being his belief in his brewer, and even this is founded on the knowledge that they always did make beer of hops and barley and always will, while as for arsenic, "why, how could they do it at the price?"

So, when John Bull, who, in the softness of his heart has been sharing his humble board and leaky roof with his aged mother, suddenly finds that the old lady's services to her country in bearing and rearing such a hard-headed son, has received recognition in the shape of five shillings a week from the "illimitable resources" of the nation, the hardness of his head and the unwonted fatness of his pocket, tells him he has to some extent been relieved of his burden. He considers himself "five bob a week" better off. Five grossly material, concrete, tangible, visible, spendable, slippery, winged and light-footed shillings better off fifty-two times in the year, God sparing his mother, bless her dear old heart. "Ain't I, eh? ain't I?" he asks his mates, and in their hard-headed wisdom they sentimentally answer—"Yus."

"Ain't I?" he asks the man on the "Clarion" Van, the I.L.P. or S.D.P. platforms, and again, though not sentimentally, he is accorded full assent, with the additional information, "that's why we got it for you."

John Bull propounds the question to the S.P.G.B. speaker, who, he knows has always inveighed against the advocacy of such reforms, and even here he is not denied.

But the S.P.G.B. man rejects the point of view. These others, on the right hand and the left, fail utterly to see things from the class standpoint. To us the individual is not of the greatest importance. John Bull may be five shillings a week better off, but if the other members of the working class, who, having no old people to receive old age pensions, have been relieved of no burden, are mulcted collectively of the equivalent of old Mrs. Bull's pension, then the working class is (in the sense of increased income) no better off. And that something of this kind has followed, or sooner or later must follow, any old age or other doles handed out to the working class is the base of our opposition to reforms.

"But such has not been the case" declared a certain I.L.P. Councillor during a debate with a representative of the S.P.—at which debate John Bull propounded his question. "Wages have not fallen, though we have the old age pensions."

This is rather a wild sort of statement to make. In the absence of official figures, which cannot, of course, be available for some time yet, it is impossible to base our argument upon exact information. Nevertheless it is certain that, when the thing has had time to settle down, at present even I suggest, a large proportion of the

old age dole will be paid to those who would otherwise be in receipt of indoor or outdoor Poor Law relief, and this portion cannot in any sense be considered an addition to the working-class income. It must be remembered that nearly one half (47.9 per cent.) of the total number of paupers in the Kingdom are classified as "aged and infirm," and their share of the eleven and a half millions sterling comprising the total cost total cost of pauperism (1908) is vast enough to reduce the actual extra outlay of the old age pensions very considerably. Without any special information I suggest three millions as the extent of this reduction.

This would leave about four millions per annum of the pension which our opponents would say our theories demand that we should find an equivalent wage-reduction for. But what would our I.L.P. councillors and our John Bulls have? Such a sum spread over the income of all those receiving less than £3 per week per family would be but 1d. in the £—1d. per week off hard-headed John Bull's five-and-twenty bob. Who would expect to discern it? Perhaps it is looking for such microscopic mites that has so impaired the I.L.P. vision that they cannot see such broad-daylight facts as the class struggle.

And how is this extract from the May issue of the "Board of Trade Labour Gazette?" "The changes [in the rate of wages] taking effect in April affected 85,000 workpeople, of whom 7,000 received advances, and 78,000 sustained decreases. . . . The total computed effect of all the changes was a net decrease of nearly £4,100 per week."

What the figures were for the previous three months and since I cannot say at the moment, but, without suggesting the probability, I wish to point out that a like reduction each month for a year would mean at the end of that time that those workers whom the returns cover (not by any means the whole body of wage earners) would be sustaining reductions at the rate of over two and a half millions per annum.

These figures are meant to indicate nothing more than that it is possible that those who say the old age pensions have not resulted in a fall in wages may be very far from the truth. But as a matter of fact it is not necessary for the reduction to take the form of an actual lowering of the money wage. It might take place through a change in the purchasing power of those wages. For instance, let us suppose, firstly, that circumstances have forced the capitalists to add to working-class income by old age pensions a net sum of £3,000,000. Let us secondly suppose that through increased duties on beer and tobacco the workers' necessities cost them £3,000,000 more. We have now an increase in working class income beyond the cost of production of their labour-power, counterbalanced by a rise in the cost of the means of subsistence—a lowering, that is, of the purchasing power of nominal, or money, wages.

The first supposition, existing by itself, would, according to our theory of the nature of labour-power, be followed by a fall in wages, since the working-class cannot, over an extended period, get more than the cost of producing their labour-power. The second supposition, existing by itself, would be followed by a rise in wages, because over an extended period the workers cannot get less than the cost of production of their labour-power. But the two cancel each other. Each supplies the necessary sequence of the other. The fall in actual wages has taken place through the lowering of the purchasing power of nominal wages.

In this way the ruling class can always recoup themselves for any dole they are forced to hand over to the working class without waiting for the slower process of reduction of wages by competition in the labour market. Old age pensions are hardly given than it is determined to sponge up the possible million or two of added working-class income by an increased duty on beer and tobacco. Of course, in the ordinary way, any rise in the cost of necessities (and economically beer and tobacco are necessities so long as, and to the extent that, the workers are prepared to make them a first charge upon their wages) will no more affect the worker than will a rise in the price of hay affect the horse. Each must be fed by his master if he is to remain in working condition. But nevertheless the power of taxation enables the ruling class to

forestill the operation of the forces of competition and to immediately take away with their left hand what they give with their right.

September 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

3

JOTTINGS.

A complete shortage of coal, like an entire stoppage of the railways, which might perhaps be simultaneously organised, would speedily put the whole country under an industrial interdict. Even the Territorials could not force the men to work, and the whole social machine would be brought to a standstill.—*Justice* 24.7.08.

The governing classes here are quite capable of reproducing in London and the provinces the horrors of the suppression of the Commune of Paris. At the moment they think their right to deprive the workers of all that makes life worth living for the behoof of the rich is seriously threatened. There is no doubt about that. Therefore we beseech all who have the opportunity of helping us to use their efforts to prevent the Territorials from becoming an army, and compulsory military service from being introduced.

Justice, 24.7.09.

Either the armed forces can compel the workers to go back to work in the case of a general strike or partial strike or they cannot. Which is it Harry?

* * *

I quite agree that "Mr. Haldane is acting entirely as the hirer and agent of the butchery capitalist class in his happily unsuccessful attempts to create a Territorial-Praetorian Guard for the profit-mongers"—his speeches at Rockdale and Oxford show that well enough. But with the S.D.P.'s Citizen Army should we be any better off?

* * *

The *New Age* (29.7.09) states that "Socialism does not attack capital to destroy it, but to socialise it."

* * *

That Socialists desire to abolish capital is true, but the *New Age* writer would have us believe that Socialists desire to socialise that which they are out to abolish, viz., capital, or the exploiting function of wealth as manipulated by the capitalist class. We have here the old absurdity and confusion that vitiates the propaganda of so many well-meaning ignoramus.

* * *

The same paragraph contains another statement I cannot agree with. It is this: "The last death of monopoly is to be assumed by the state. But this is Socialism."

* * *

The *New Age* man evidently mistakes state Capitalism for Socialism. The Post Office is, I suppose, in his view a socialistic effort. And yet the profits from that state monopoly form part of the funds used to maintain the Army and Navy. The functions of these forces are to "protect our (!) trade and commerce" and to enhance the political and economic dominance of the capitalist class. It will be observed that "profits" can still be derived from a state owned monopoly, therefore, as profits imply exploitation (which, I hope, would not be possible under Socialism) the assumption of a monopoly by the state is not Socialism, the *New Age* notwithstanding.

* * *

What is a "last death"? Does anyone know?

* * *

The futility of the efforts of the "something now" brigade of S.D.P.'ers, I.L.P.'ers, Fabians and others is shown by the fact that there is not one of the "somethings" which every one of them would support. The "something" advocated by A. B. and C. has not the support of D. E. and F., whilst E. and B. favour another "something" opposed by all the others, and so on through the whole number of "somethings" and individuals composing the brigade. As a consequence they do not present a united front to the forces of capitalism, and we know what happens to a "house divided against itself."

A. E. JACKOMBE

* * *

The S.P.G.B. fully believing that the whole is greater than the part, wastes no time advocating this or that reform, but spend their energies in educating the workers in the fact

that in Socialism alone lies their emancipation.

* * *

One reason our membership does not increase as rapidly as that of some other parties is that we dangle no "red herrings" before the workers. The lot of those whom a political or economic "red herring" can allure is one to be pitied and abolished, and not one to make political capital out of.

* * *

The Maidstone branch of the I.L.P. have either entirely forgotten the reason for the I.L.P.'s existence or desire that organisation to "wind up" its business and close its account altogether. The following resolution from the Maidstone branch appeared in the *Labour Leader* of August 6th.

"This branch regularly pushes the 'Labour Leader' at its weekly public meetings, but regrets that it cannot be regarded as a good medium for Socialist propaganda, and suggests the necessity of the inclusion of a much larger proportion of definite Socialist teaching."

* * *

Immediately *Socialism* is taught in the columns of the I.L.P. organ, there is a probability of some of its readers becoming class-conscious revolutionaries (others will take flight) and then they will no longer see the necessity of remaining in the I.L.P., which is a non-Socialist organisation. A Socialist party publishes a party organ in which expositions of Socialist theory appear, and does not wait until "a serious or urgent or widespread desire or manifest need for the continuous expounding of Socialist theory" (*Labour Leader* 6.8.09) is evinced before publishing them.

JAYBEE.

BARCELONA!

The workers of Catalonia and of the industrial city of Barcelona have risen in revolt against their oppressors—and have been crushed. A shady mining concern with international capitalist interests involved had been established in the territory of the Riff tribes of Morocco, close by the town of Melilla, which is occupied by the Spaniards. The natives, suspecting that this forbade them no good, took steps to turn out the invaders, the representatives of the modern enslavers, the international capitalists. As a consequence the Spanish workers were called upon to turn out and, at the risk of life and limb, protect their masters' property—were ordered to go to Africa and massacre a foreign people with whom they had no quarrel. Now Barcelona, at least, has, like Paris, the revolutionary tradition, and there has been plenty of anti-militarist, direct-action, aye, Anarchist propaganda, there. Doubtless also many of its toilers argued that, since lives must be risked, 'twere better to risk them fighting the real enemy at home, the monopolisers of the means of life, rather than in fighting the brown-faced Moors against whom they had no enmity. And so after speeches and strikes came barricades. However, modern artillery and magazine rifles, handled as these were by often unwilling soldiers, made short work of all these and there is now a further collapse of "direct action" to record. Hitherto the Spanish workers, very generally, disdained Parliamentary action. Perhaps events will show them the need for using the means to hand, namely, the political machinery, however backward that machinery and however difficult the obstacles may be. It is good to note the spirit of revolt in the Spanish workers. When they have got over their present Anarchistic tendency they will make rapid strides, like the quick-witted people they are, to their freedom in Socialism.

H. J. H.

BURNLEY BRANCH, S. P. G. B.

PROpaganda MEETINGS.
MEET IN THE
MARKET PLACE EVERY SUNDAY
EVENING AT 7.30.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandgate Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,

WED.,

SEP. 1, 1909.

The 'Standard's' Anniversary.

With this issue we begin our sixth annual volume. The working class still requires an organ that shall faithfully carry on the work of proletarian enlightenment; an organ unsullied by compromise and capable of uncovering the enemy's every move. Such the SOCIALIST STANDARD has been, and in the future we expect to be able to perform this great work for our class with enhanced vigour and greater success. The paper is now eagerly awaited every month by many, who, while they are not yet members of our party, are realising that all is not well with their present affiliations. Its pronouncements on topical matters are read with interest, for while necessarily often somewhat late, yet our readers realise as a rule that they are dictated by the cool judgement of Socialist contributors who have taken the trouble to understand capitalism, and who do not sloppily misrepresent—for the sake of literary effect and flourish. While those who seek sound theoretical articles teaching some phase of Socialist thought, know that nothing beats the little "Standard."

We still pursue our policy of refusing commercial advertisements, loss of income thereby notwithstanding. The paper is all the better for it; for the danger of the possible influence of advertisers upon the paper's policy and utterance is obviated. So that, in spite of their small size, our eight pages (through the absence of advertisements and routine matter) are found to contain more actual, sound, reading matter than many of our bigger contemporaries.

We are glad to find readers taking advantage of our "Forum" feature, and are always pleased to answer correspondents who submit questions on Socialism or as to the attitude of the S.P.G.B. upon different subjects. And not infrequently we have the satisfaction of knowing that the questioner has joined our organisation.

The paper is still produced without payment of any kind for any of the contributory or editorial work. Workingmen are still to be found who, without payment, and with mighty little thanks as a rule, will "burn the candle at both ends," in the service of their class. After a hard day's toil, and between propaganda meetings, amid all the difficulties of a workman's condition, this labour of love is done; yes, often enough the small hours arrive before the article or column of notes is thought out and written, and the weary writer seeks his bed, with at least the satisfaction of knowing that another blow has been dealt the enemy, some fellow-slave helped to an understanding of his enslavement. However, more contributions are needed, and comrades are requested to help to the best of their ability. Many hands make light work. With more contributors and the support through our "Party Organ Fund" (monetary contributions are requested as printers' bills have to be met), it should be possible to effect the enlargement of the paper, thus enabling us to reach a larger public and to do better work generally for Socialism. And so there is "work

for all" in writing and circulating the SOCIALIST STANDARD to the end that the workers may the sooner see the light and march on to their emancipation.

Liberalism's Last Ditch.

Even from the point of view of the orthodox Liberal manufacturer, the present Budget, with its innumerable exemptions and concessions, can hardly be described otherwise than as "Much cry and little wool"; but that the "Labour" members should hail it as a great, democratic, working-class Budget would be astounding were it not remembered that they owe their seats in Parliament to compacts with the Liberals, and hope to retain them at the next elections by Liberal aid. "One good turn deserves another" is their motto, and the workers should realise this also—by turning them out.

The Government, indeed, often allows the real nature of the Finance Bill to peep through. Mr. Asquith, speaking at the City meeting on the Budget, in reference to Tory opposition said:

Our critics and ourselves start from one common and unavoidable admission. The growing requirements of national defence, with the simultaneous increase in expenditure demanded both by the conscience and by the interests of the community for purposes of social reform, have brought about a gap in the exchequer of almost all the great nations which is beyond precedent. How that gap is to be filled is the question which at this moment is presenting itself with insistence and with urgency to the Finance Ministers of all the richest and most progressive nations of the world.

The increase in armaments to protect the property and interests of our masters, together with the increasing cost of domestic legislation rendered inevitable by economic development and by the growing intensity of exploitation—these are the excuses for the Budget. The cost of "Dreadnoughts" is palpable and enormous; it hits the capitalist where he lives. But the cost of social reform is humbug, for the capitalists, as a class, make a profit on it. Moreover the amount of reform is microscopic, demanded though it be by "the interests of the community"—that is, by the interests of the ruling class. Social reform, even when at what "Labour leaders" call an unprecedented rate, utterly and entirely fails to keep up with the increase of human wreckage created by capitalist industry, as the increasing misery of the workers testifies. Under the progressive exploitation of to-day, and with all the reforms passed or likely to be passed by the master class, the wage workers finds, and will continue to find, that instead of becoming happier or better off, his progress is only the more rapidly downward, in the direction of greater toil and poverty.

Reforms are, in part, the inevitable counterpart of economic development, and, for the rest, an endeavour to stave off revolution. But however inevitable they may be under capitalism, they cannot, from their very nature, and from the nature of the class that enacts and administers them, retard the increasing exploitation of the working class; their aim and tendency is, indeed, to still further increase the security or profits of the capitalists. Hence it is folly in the workers to fight over reforms, for in revolution—in the capture of political power—lies their only hope.

From this standpoint it is seen how great is the crime of the Labour misleaders in endeavouring to round up the workers in support of a capitalist Budget. All that there is in the much lauded taxes on "land-values" is a basis for the future raising of revenue for purely capitalist purposes. It is an alternative scheme of taxation to Tariff Reform—it is Liberalism's last ditch. Carried out to their logical extreme, the new taxes would merely relieve the industrial capitalist at the expense of the ground landlord, leaving the worker exactly where he was. It is in fact, surprising how little the whole question of taxation affects the wage workers as a class, and the present sham fight between manufacturer and landowner again emphasises this fact. The Budget, indeed, only feebly caricatures the old hereditary conflict between the industrial capitalist and the landed interest. It hurts nobody, but it makes a lot of noise; and although the new taxes on "values" are little more than names, they are sufficient to serve the Liberals as an effective election cry. The Liberal Party knows that the public dearly love to be humbugged, and it is giving the public a treat.

But apart from this, can there be any doubt regarding the anti-Socialist (and consequently anti-working-class) nature of the present Finance Bill? The leaders of Liberalism are falling over each other in their eagerness to reassure vested interests on this score. Mr. Churchill, who, to use an Irishism, often opens his mouth only to put his foot in it, nevertheless made several statements in that speech of his on July 17th, which did not need to be re-interpreted by his chief. He insisted that there was a vital distinction between Liberalism and Socialism in that the latter attacked capital. He also said:

It was true to say that nearly three out of four persons paying income-tax would be taxed after this budget—this penal budget, this wicked, monstrous, despotic budget, for income at a lower rate than they were by the late Conservative Government. (Cheers.)

Rejoice! ye wage slaves.

The Daily Chronicle for July 24th also indicated the anti-Socialist character of the Budget "Land Tax" by saying that

the principle of it has been accepted by a Tory House of Commons, and by the Conservative party in the German Reichstag; and it has been put into practice by Continental cities and British Colonies.

Of course it has; and wherein have the workers benefitted?

In a speech on July 22nd Mr. Asquith said that Liberalism was opposed to Conservatism, but

On the other hand, it is equally far removed from and strongly opposed to Socialism, which would do away with the institution of property, which would cripple the individual power of initiative, which would sacrifice to a superficial equality the reality and the essence of freedom. (Cheers.)

And speaking of the Budget in general the Premier said "prove any injustice, any inconvenience even, to the business world, and we will set it right." While in respect to the reversal taxes in particular he asserted that "no party and no government had shown greater consideration to vested interests" than had his Government in the matter of this new taxation.

There can, therefore, be no further doubt regarding the anti-Socialist and anti-working-class policy of the so-called Labour Party and pseudo-Socialist reform organisations, when they work with the Liberal Party and actively support a class Budget which would not improve the position of the worker one jot or tittle. Thus when speaking at the Hyde Park Liberal Demonstration in support of the Budget, Mr. Keir Hardie said (we quote from Reynolds's of July 25th last):

The aristocrats called the Budget a Bill of robbery and spoliation, but the proposed taxes were simply measures for compelling owners to make a restitution to the working classes whom they had robbed for ages.

So does he and his kind deliberately attempt to mislead the workers by pretending that the masters govern for the benefit of their slaves! Unfortunately it is the ignorance among the workers of the fundamental truths of their position that allows them to become the dupes of these political charlatans. Nevertheless economic development and Socialist propaganda are doing their work, and when the toilers grasp the essentials of the Socialist position the "Labour leader," like Othello, will wake up to find his occupation gone. For the present it is our duty in our task of working-class enlightenment to expose the political and trade union job-hunters, batteners, or endeavouring to batte, on working-class ignorance. It is, moreover, no accident that so frequently brings together Labour members, Liberal manufacturers, teetotal fanatics, Suffragettes, cranks, and Bible-bangers of all sorts—they are birds of a feather. A man may be known by the company he keeps, so Asquith, Hardie and Co., associated now in their endeavours to pilot the workers on to the shoals of Liberal humbug, will find themselves associated also in the shipwreck of Liberalism that will occur in the wake of the growing Socialist consciousness of the working class.

A TERMINOLOGICAL INEXACTITUDE.

"Mid-Derby Labour Win," they placard bold,
Though why 'tis hard to tell;
It should instead be called, if truth were told,
"Mid-Derby Labour Sell."—E. L. F.

September 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

**THE PERTURBATION
OF
WILLIAM BULL, M.P.**

am afraid Bill will be having a very hot time of it presently if he is not careful.

However, we need not go outside London for our cases. We need not go outside London for them. Ownership of the means of living implies ownership of the lives of those who are dependent upon the means of living. If Bill has any sense at all he will admit that. Shakespear and quite a list of persons Bill doubtless venerate has admitted it. Then if a vast number of people who are dependent upon the means of living owned by others, die directly of want, or of the results of mal-nutrition, while at the same time the necessities of healthy life exist in abundance in the possession of those who own the means of living, they who die are being killed. And the Commandment says "Thou shalt not kill." Is it not even so, Bill?

Now, "William Bull, House of Commons, S.W.," who own the means of life? Who control the avenues down which those who do not own the means of life have to pass to obtain the necessities of living—avenues to which they are not admitted except upon terms that require them to surrender three-fourths or more of the wealth they produce? Who is it, Bill? The Socialist says it is the capitalist class. You may not agree. That doesn't matter—much. It is only another indication that the House of Commons, S.W., is not a decent training ground for the man who is after knowledge. All I want you to see is that the means of life are owned by somebody; and that somebody is rendered absolutely dependent therefore. And this also, that it is the dependent somebody who always dies from the result of mal-nutrition while plenty is there to save him.

Now being a clever writer myself, I sometimes take in the Morning Post, and have known it to create an impression in that conveyance of the "poor and unthinking," a workman's train. It is, moreover, an excellent journal to play cards on in a train. But its chief merit to me is its power as a sedative, and a never-failing antidote to insomnia. When I go to bed particularly restless I sometimes take it with me and in five minutes am asleep, so in the first place I must enter a protest against "William Bull, House of Commons, S.W.," for disturbing my peace with that agony paragraph. It broke in upon me happens to be in control of, shortens my life to thirty or forty years when I could have lived to fifty or sixty if those powers had not been exercised, he is guilty (consciously or unconsciously) of the essence of murder, and the man who says it is "death from natural causes" is a liar, William, and according to your book shall have his part in the lake of fire which burneth for ever. I'm very much afraid there will be a number of coroners' juries in that fire. Ever been on such a jury, William?

Now the Socialist enters his militant protest against this system of murder. He says it can be altered and it shall be, though all the bulls of Bashan, or the House of Commons, S.W., roar them never so loudly. If you really want to know how it can be done send me a line. I hope there is sufficient in the foregoing to place the act of Dhingra in its true perspective. The murder of Wyllie by revolver shot is no more, but rather less, than the murder of Brown, of the working class, by starvation. Brown's wife and children are dependent upon him and they are left to put up what fight they may for bread. Who cares a curse about them and how they succeed in the struggle, or how miserably they die? Do you care, Bill? Do you? If so where's the evidence of it? Multiply the case of Brown ten thousand fold and then rant and cant or do anything else you like about Wyllie—if you can. That was a little tragedy. Having regard to the protection afforded Lady Wyllie, a tragedy that we can no more than regret in passing. We can sympathise with the lady, and do, but a world tragedy absorbs us—the tragedy of our class, without the arm of knowledge, contending blindly against the hosts of hell made flesh.

But I hope there is sufficient in the foregoing to place the act of Dhingra in its true perspective. The murder of Wyllie by revolver shot is no more, but rather less, than the murder of Brown, of the working class, by starvation. Brown's wife and children are dependent upon him and they are left to put up what fight they may for bread. Who cares a curse about them and how they succeed in the struggle, or how miserably they die? Do you care, Bill? Do you? If so where's the evidence of it? Multiply the case of Brown ten thousand fold and then rant and cant or do anything else you like about Wyllie—if you can. That was a little tragedy. Having regard to the protection afforded Lady Wyllie, a tragedy that we can no more than regret in passing. We can sympathise with the lady, and do, but a world tragedy absorbs us—the tragedy of our class, without the arm of knowledge, contending blindly against the hosts of hell made flesh.

These statistics are intended as proof that wages to day, as compared with 1850, are as 182 is to 100. Let us see what wages are, and how we may compare wages and prices at varying periods. A nominal wage is the amount of money for which the labourer sells himself to an employer. Real wages are the amount of commodities which the labourer can purchase with that money, wages as related to prices. We can also compare wages with the amount of the labour's product. The worker to day receives smaller

had the conditions been reversed? Can you say, holding the beliefs you do, that you would not have applauded?

That is all that I need say to you now, "William Bull, House of Commons, S.W.," except this, that Socialism is making an alarming progress all over the world. That is not the result of the work of Church Dignitaries or prominent Radicals. It is the work of the Socialists and the pressure of events. Your system, William Bull, is doomed, and the evidence of its doom is beginning to make itself alarmingly apparent to you. To us it brings knowledge of the approach of a new era; a time in which they who do not work shall not eat; in which to the man who does work shall go the full fruit of his labour; when upon a basis of assured livelihood shall be built up a superstructure of character; when the arts of the world shall be ours, the literature an open book to us, the sciences capable of attainment; a time when individuality shall have opportunity of development—the opportunity denied it to day under a system of individualism! That time is coming, Bull. You can do nothing to finally stop it. And if I were you I should beware how I tried.

And now go and read your Commandments over again, and this time try and understand them.

JAMES ALEXANDER.

**FIFTY YEARS OF
WAGEDOM.**

Ir has been said that the searcher after truth seeks a creed to suit his reason while a sophist looks for reasons to support his creed. The Honourable John Burns, as the recent Blue Book "Public Health and Social Conditions" shows, belongs to the latter category. This interesting publication, received with acclamation by I.L.P.'s, is dedicated by its compilers to the successful John in these words: "The accompanying series of statistical memoranda and charts relating to certain aspects of existing social conditions have been prepared in accordance with your instructions." Thus inspired it is an optimistic work. One harmonious pean and cry of exultation over the improving working-class standard of comfort. Take any factor of working-class life—wages, prices, pauperism, sanitation, death-rate, indeed, excepting unemployment, the tale is unified, unanimous. Trade papers, political papers, servile sheets of all sorts, are welcoming this Blue Book as an armoury of facts with which to smite the sceptical student of things social. It proves a better standard of life! Compared with when? Tell it not in Gath and whisper it not in the streets of Ascalon, it is as compared with the year of our Lord 1850! The inventive faculties of our workman Cabinet Minister are not equal to his bombast or he surely would never have perpetrated this hoary dodge. Those "hungry forties," how often have they served as text for Liberal free importers and "Labour," P.S.A.-preaching M.P.s! Bring me the civet, good apothecary: it is a necessity.

We have all met the pleasant faced old gentleman who pompously informed us what the price of salt and sugar and wheat was in those "hungry forties." Did he not tell us how in those times he went to Sunday school in clogs and fustian while the present generation boasts genuine cloth, honest boots and three-inch collars? That is the individual back of Burn's Blue Book (this meaning publication dedicated to that "symbolical sunflower constantly turning toward Royalty," the quondam honest John). But he is an obsequious, silly fellow, and the hope of Socialists is that his sons and daughters will be able to take longer views, and will possess a comparative faculty more highly developed than did he.

These statistics are intended as proof that wages to day, as compared with 1850, are as 182 is to 100. Let us see what wages are, and how we may compare wages and prices at varying periods. A nominal wage is the amount of money for which the labourer sells himself to an employer. Real wages are the amount of commodities which the labourer can purchase with that money, wages as related to prices. We can also compare wages with the amount of the labour's product. The worker to day receives smaller

September 1st, 1909.

portion of the product of his applied labour-power as wages than ever in the past. Let us term this a relative wage. We grant that nominal wages are higher than in 1850. Then the gist of our enquiry must be: how about the real and the relative wage; what of prices and the fertility of labour-power as compared with that time?

Now it is an excess of modesty to compare wages with the year 1850. Had wages continued at that level for long there would have been few proletarians to exploit. Says Marx in his Brussels discourse upon Free Trade, "Thus the minimum price is the natural price of labour. And what is the minimum wage? It is simply all that is necessary to accomplish the production of the objects indispensable for the sustenance of the labourer so as to put him in condition to nourish himself however badly and to propagate feebly his race. Let us not believe on that account that the worker will have only this minimum wage; nor must we believe that he will have this minimum wage always."

"No, according to this law, the working class will sometimes be more fortunate. It will have at times more than the minimum; but this surplus will be only the supplement of that reduction below the minimum it will be forced to accept in times of industrial stagnation."

And if we examine the zig-zag line which may represent the movement of wages since the fourteenth century, we see the truth in Marx's analysis. The cunning manipulator of figures can prove all things by skilfully choosing his periods; he can prove the deterioration of the working-class standard of life by comparing present conditions with the years 1500 and 1750, and an improvement by comparison between the present time and 1840 and 1850. But taking long views and examining the oscillations and permutations of different periods it is proven that so long as the wage worker hawks his labour-power as a commodity he receives a subsistence wage.

Wages are the price of labour-power. If a capitalist be the lucky possessor of ten thousand he can buy openly on the market coals, wheat, cottons or so much labour-power. Labour-power is a commodity, subject to the same economic laws as other commodities. Now how are the values of commodities determined? By their cost of production, or more particularly, by the average amount of socially necessary labour-power embodied in them. And wages—the price or money value of labour-power, are determined by the cost of production of the labourer plus a certain amount necessary to rear a young race of wage workers to perpetuate the misery of the race. *This commodity characteristic of labour-power is the barrier to all sentimental efforts to lift up humanity.*

This Blue Book also tells us that while, since the year 1872 the wages of the working class have risen as from 170 to 183, in the same period the produce of a penny Income Tax rate has increased as 100 is to 168. Accepting them for the nonce, the figures are suggestive enough. Not so?

And these forty years have been years of ethical movements, Fabian minimums, extensive religious organisation, Christian "Socialism," paternal factor legislation, co-operation, profit sharing, death duties, super taxes on incomes, and other "ethical" attacks on capitalism for the benefit of the working class. And even yet there are Positivist quidnuncs who speak of the "moralisation of capital"! The movement of wages since 1870 is an effectual reply to the rotund phrases of the "greatest intellectual asset to English Socialism" and to all and sundry who affect the belief that capitalism can be temporarily repaired. The mills of capitalism grind on in spite of the wishes of emotional I.L.P.'ers.

It has been well said that "along with the constantly diminishing number of the magnates of capital, who usurp and monopolise all advantages of this process of transformation, grows the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation." Every word of this indictment is terribly true. MISERY; pain of body and mind, wretchedness. No increase of money wages under present conditions can be any equivalent for the calm and healthy lives of our forebears before the birth of the machine regime. The spectre of unemployment, the

insecurity of existence, the enormous number of industrial accidents, the awful loneliness of the poor amidst crowded towns and cities. OPPRESSION; loading with heavy burdens, treating unjustly; torture, or imprisonment, or starvation, as fashion dictates in different countries. SLAVERY; dependence on the will of another individual or section for material existence, being wholly under the will of another or others, drudgery. The workers are slaves economically, for the most part, and mentally. Economically, for they are allowed a worker's livelihood only when some privileged person believes that profit can be made from their toil. Mentally because the master class are able to force their ideas and morality upon the workers, through the Press, pulpit, etc., getting these to believe that after all there is no class war and that religion lies their salvation. DEGRADATION; condition of inferiority; perverted, sneered at by tricky Mallocks as receiving more than a just share of the wealth created by them. EXPLOITATION; the obtaining of a value for which no equivalent is rendered. Robbery when applied to men. Employment and fleecing by Joint Stock Companies and professional philanthropists. The sponging up of Labour by Capital. "With sufficient incentive capital is very bold. Two and a half per cent. certain will ensure its employment anywhere; five per cent. will produce eagerness, ten per cent. positive audacity. For fifty per cent there is not a risk it will not run, for one hundred per cent. it is ready to trample upon all human laws."

And that is our reply to Burns; human misery, oppression, slavery, degradation, exploitation, is the workers' experience of capitalism. We believe with Engels that "the greater industry has created the modern proletariat, a class which for the first time in history can set about the abolition not of this particular class organisation or that particular class privilege, but of classes in general, and it is in the position that it must carry out this line of action, on the penalty of sinking to the Chinese coolie level."

JOHN A. DAWSON.

THAT'S DIFFERENT.

A man with an ax flew by Socrates, chasing another man:

"Stop him! Stop him!" cried he of the weapon. "He's a murderer!"

But the old sage wasn't taking any chances, and jogged on imperturbably.

"You fool!" quoth he of the ax. "Why didn't you stop him? He's a murderer, I tell you!"

"A murderer! What's a murderer?"

"Fool! One that kills, of course."

"Ah! a butcher."

No, idiot! That's different. One that kills a man."

"Oh! Ah, a soldier."

No! No! That's different altogether. One that kills a man in times of peace!"

"A hangman!"

No! No! No! That's different. One that kills a man in his house!"

"A doctor, then!"

No! No! No! No! That's different."

Running along after him (2,000 years after) comes another man with flaming eyes: "Stop him! Stop him!" he cries, pointing to something he sees, ahead of him. "Stop him! He's a Socialist!"

"A Socialist! What's a Socialist?"

"Why a believer in state industries, of course."

"Oh, I see? The railways, post offices, customs, drains, and all that."

"No, that's different! I mean competing against private enterprise."

Oh! schools, universities, and the like."

"No! No! That's different. I mean state trading. The fellows that expect everything done for them by the state! A loafer that wants to share the earnings of the industrious workers!"

"Ah! Ah! A nobleman who has inherited land!"

"No! No! That's different. I mean—"

Sydney Bulletin.

WATFORD BRANCH REPORT.

SINCE last there appeared a report from Watford the various reform parties here have been improving their game of political gymnastics, adding much to the confusion of the working class. A brief report of their doings will be strictly in order at the present juncture.

About six months ago a change took place: a small section of the S.D.P. who had got tired of the juggling their organisation indulged in, left, and joined the Socialist movement, namely, the S.P.G.B. Others who had got tired in their fight for reforms have retired from the political arena fed up—an end the reformers generally come to. A third section, the professional jugglers, now wondered what they were to do to be saved. Well, they decided to let the S.D.P. die and have a queer burial, and it was so. Now for inspiration to bring about an external change. Ah! they said, we've got it. Socialist unity is what is wanted; let us form a Socialist society that will organise the Socialists of Watford under one banner. They called a conference of the various organisations in the town, including the S.P.G.B.

Needless to say, we replied pointing out the absurdity of calling a conference together to form an organisation to unite the Socialists of Watford when they were already united in the Watford Branch of the S.P.G.B.

Nevertheless, either with good or bad intentions (and it matters not which to us), a Watford Socialist (sic) Society was formed with about twenty members. Its business, the secretary stated, was to preach Socialism and nothing but Socialism. Have they done so?

The first active part they took in the political field was to support candidates at a local election who ran on the ordinary reform program—fair wages, right to work, municipal houses, etc., definitely stating that their interests were not party interests, thereby ignoring the class struggle. Well, they got defeated; and the secretary of the society, asked what he thought of the result, said, "All I have to say is that it shows the futility of running a Liberal as a Socialist." Thus was it confessed that the first political fight they took part in was in support of a Liberal.

Next they decided to run open-air meetings and this is where the unity comes in. Their first speaker was Mr. Wilson Temple, of the Wimbledon Socialist Society (birds of a feather), who was speaking for an hour or more on the futility of advocating reforms and the necessity of preaching Socialism. When he had finished his address one of our comrades asked him, if his position in regard to reforms was as he stated, why was he speaking for and assisting an organisation whose members believed in and preached reform. He replied by saying that "The Watford Socialist Society do not advocate reforms," whereupon our comrade told him that he was afraid he did not know much about the organisation he was speaking for. This statement was fully borne out by the chairman of Mr. Temple's meeting, who said "I must say, friends, that I am not in agreement with the speaker's attitude with regard to reforms." Oh! WHAT UNITY!

Since the meeting referred to was held they have had other speakers, chiefly S.D.P. members, three of whom have spent the whole of their addresses in advocating reforms such as Adult Suffrage, Right to Work, and all the other nostrums. Thus do they prove that it is only an external change that has taken place; a change in name only. It is the old stuff under a new name. We have never been deluded on this matter. We know that the preaching of Socialism and Socialism only is left to the S.P.G.B., for it is not reasonable to expect figs to grow on thistles. Therefore the comrades of the Watford Branch are keeping the principles of Socialism to the front here, preaching from the basis of the class struggle the overthrow of Capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Republic. Leaving the palliation of Capitalism to the W.S.S., the Liberal Party, the I.L.P., the Tories, the S.D.P., and all other supporters of the capitalist class. For as Mr. A. J. Balfour said, "the best antidote to Socialism is social reform."

WATFORD BRANCH.

September 1st, 1909.

September 1st, 1909.

THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

SYNDICALIST AND ANTI-MILITARIST WINGS BROUGHT TO DECLARE FOR POLITICAL ACTION.

Translated from *Proletary* (Russian) by J. Kresswell and adapted from the *Weekly People* (New York).

(Concluded.)

The two currents, considering the broad mass of organised labour, not the few secretaries of unions, are approaching ever nearer. The first are gradually freeing themselves from the excess of revolutionary phraseology, the second from the simple naïve faith in the possibility of obtaining social reforms with the help of the "middle class." Between them every obscurity in the methods of struggle against capital is clarified.

With the consolidation of bourgeois parties now forming in France follows the consolidation of the class-organisations of the proletariat. The class-conscious elements of the French working class in the Confederation as well as in the United Socialist Party have at their Congresses in Toulouse and Marseilles demonstrated that they have realised the necessity of a thorough development of proletarian organisation. This is the watchword uniting all those in France who are guarding the interests of the working-class. Instead of disputing about tactics they insisted on the importance of reforms, and in thus changing the subject, and in their failure to defend their former views in tactics they revealed their mental bankruptcy. Only after the dear lesson of the events of the last two years, was a confession wrung from their leader, Jaures, that a Socialist party should have no affiliations with any bourgeois party. True, they have not yet lost all their illusions; they still hope the Radicals will come to their senses or will split in two, one part of which will unite with the "alliance républicaine," the representative of militant capitalism, and the other part with Combe and Pelton at their head, fight side by side with the Socialists for social reforms.

But these illusions are harmless, at least at present, because nobody in the Radical party evinces any dissatisfaction with the policy of the Radical majority controlling Parliament, except a dozen or so Radical-Socialist deputies who fear defeat at the elections without the help of Socialist votes.

The struggle with the Opportunists at the convention, therefore, was brief and unimportant. It was interesting only in that the Blanquists were the first to show themselves in the speech of their representative, Tangier, in favour of the old reformers, as they in reality are, but shield themselves with revolutionary phraseology.

Far more important to the Party was the struggle at the convention with the Herveists and anarcho-Socialists, which reminds one of the struggle against the young Socialists from Berlin at the convention of the German Social Democracy at Galle. Establishing the paper "La Guerre Sociale" as their centre, the Herveists made it their principal duty to discredit the political activity by haranguing on street corners of its complete uselessness. During elections many of them carried on an anti-political agitation. "Revolutionary" phrasemongery reached, with them, the comical stage. They always cursed everybody and everything. The French working-class, in their eyes, were a set of miserable cowards, because at the demonstration arranged by the fantastic Herve at Longchamps during a military parade, there appeared only a hundred men. Their inflamed imagination daily pictured grand catastrophes. They charged the Confederation with sinking deeper in the mire of English trade unionism. The Socialist Party to them was only a ground for career seekers, and they were seriously convinced that their mission in life was to keep the fires of the Revolution burning, which would go out with their disappearance from this earth. At other times they did not neglect to appear as candidates for election, especially when chances of success were bright—and this by the very men who yesterday treated political activity as nonsense!

Furthermore, these very men who repeated what Friedeborg in Germany and Domela and Newinghaus in Holland, said before more forcefully and eloquently, imagined that they were expounding a new found truth, and bravely repaired to the Toulouse convention, hoping that the opportunistic majority would, as at Nantes, unite anew with them in carrying a compromising resolution about anti-militarism. And this they wished to accomplish for the purpose of showing that they were of some importance in the party.

But at the convention an unexpected grouping of factions formed. To the Guesdists, who led the attack on the Herveists, came the Jauresists, Guesdists, Herveists and syndicalists.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

7

The first, encouraged by the latest Bavarian events in the ranks of the German Social Democracy, and by the enticements of a small section of Radical-Socialists who agitated against Clemenceau in Parliament had grandiose plans before the convention. Their representatives, Warren, Ruy-Alex, and Brenton, intended to pass a resolution binding Socialists to sacredly preserve at the elections "republican discipline." But when they appeared at the convention and became acquainted with the sentiment of the delegates they got cold feet. The adherents for the organisation of a blockade in conjunction with the Radicals were swallowed up as if by an earthquake. To all present it was self-evident that this was the result of past deeds, and only Brenton, who expected to be expelled the party for past sins, dared defend the above measure. Foreseeing defeat, our "Opportunists" hastened to carry the wrangle over to another platitude. Instead of disputing about tactics they insisted on the importance of reforms, and in thus changing the subject, and in their failure to defend their former views in tactics they revealed their mental bankruptcy. Only after the dear lesson of the events of the last two years, was a confession wrung from their leader, Jaures, that a Socialist party should have no affiliations with any bourgeois party. True, they have not yet lost all their illusions; they still hope the Radicals will come to their senses or will split in two, one part of which will unite with the "alliance républicaine," the representative of militant capitalism, and the other part with Combe and Pelton at their head, fight side by side with the Socialists for social reforms.

No mention is necessary of the syndicalists. Only Legardel rose in their defence, and even he confessed that the proletariat is always in need of political liberty in its economic struggles. The congress of Toulouse is, therefore, destined to play an important role in the history of French Socialism. The Opportunists, as well as the Anarcho-syndicalists, were given to understand by the representatives of the class-conscious French proletariat that it is the firm intention of the latter to put an end to all kinds of confusion, whether of a revisionist or anarchistic type. From the start this congress declared that the Socialist Party is a party of social revolution striving for the capture of political power for the liberation of the proletariat. If we stand for reforms, continues the congress in its declaration, if we point to the utility and necessity of such, and their limits which they cannot overstep in capitalist society, it is only to show the proletariat that reforms are insufficient, and that with the abolition of private property only will the proletariat completely reconstruct life. But, added the congress, only organisation and propaganda; only the more intense work of developing the political and economic organisations of the proletariat; only the unceasing propaganda of the Socialist ideal are the necessary elements for the social revolution.

The idea of a gradual, peaceful establishing of Socialism in France has suffered a fiasco. This was reflected in the speeches of all the orators, including Jaures, who chanted a five-hour panegyric to the reformers. All except Bretagne and Warden, were forced to the conclusion that with the use of its own forces, with their own political and economic powers, would the proletariat gain partial and final and complete control.

The anarcho-syndicalists were given this notice by the congress: Retire, or recognise the necessity of the political struggle in all its forms. We do not refuse any single method of struggle, including even open rebellion. We have just the same right to use it as the bourgeoisie of 1789. We are only against toy revolutions, and we should not mix grand mass movements with petty conflicts which the proletariat may have with all the forces of the state. The proletariat grows and frees itself with the untrammeled, collective and organised pressure on the contemporary state and capital.

With this declaration the Toulouse congress has made giant strides toward revolutionary Social Democracy, and we Marxists are bound to feel gratified. If there are a few obscure expressions in that declaration which are likely to give the bourgeoisie Press (especially in those countries where revisionism is only potential) a chance to discover bacilli of reformism, one thing at least is certain, that the spirit of that declaration on the whole is Marxism.

Reformism and anarcho-syndicalism now lose the strongest position which they have occupied and the efforts of Lafargue and Guesde begin to bear fruit. The labour movement of France strikes the right direction. Thanks to the specific form of development of French capitalism, which often had to emigrate abroad to find a field of usefulness; thanks to the comparative poverty of the country in minerals, such as coal and iron, which are the foremost factors in 19th

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPTEMBER.
(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 T. W. Allen	H. Newman	H. Martin	E. Fairbrother
	7.30 F. Joy	A. Barker	J. E. Roe	J. Fitzgerald
Earlfield, Magdalene Road	7.30 A. Barker	J. Kemble	H. Cooper	A. Barker
Clapham Common	3.30 F. Joy	H. Newman	J. Kemble	H. Martin
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30 A. Jacobs	H. King	H. Newman	J. Kemble
Finsbury Park	3.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	A. Jacobs	H. King
Kennington Triangle	11.30 H. Newman	A. Reginald	F. Dawkins	A. Anderson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	" F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	J. H. Hall	J. H. Hall
Paddington, Prince of Wales	" J. Halls	F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen	J. H. Hall
Peckham Triangle	7.30 H. Newman	F. Joy	F. Leigh	F. Dawkins
Tooting Broadway	11.30 H. Martin	A. Barker	J. Crump	A. Reginald
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30 J. Kemble	J. Fitzgerald	F. Joy	H. Martin
	11.30 R. Kent	T. W. Allen	T. W. Allen	H. Cooper
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Anderson	A. Pearson	A. Anderson
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.00 H. Cooper	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs	H. Newman
Watford, Market Place	7.30 A. Reginald	J. Kemble	A. Barker	H. Joy
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 F. W. Stearn	F. W. Stearn	J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh
"	7.30 A. W. Pearson	R. Kent	F. Joy	A. Jacobs
"	"	"	A. Reginald	F. W. Stearn

MONDAYS.—Earlfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Park, 8. Peckham, Bassano-st., 8.30.

TUESDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Waltham Green, Church, 8. Peckham, Collyer's-place, 8.30. Paddington, Victoria-nd, High-nd, Kilburn, 8.30. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Crn, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Alm's Road, 8.30. Lewisham Mkt, 8.30. Earlfield, Magdalene Road, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Earlfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

century industry, French capital was mainly usurious. Class contrasts could not be so sharp. Only the revolution made by electricity gave a strong impetus to capitalist activity. The revolution of minds follows. Faith in bourgeois democracy is destroyed even in the most backward spheres of the working masses, and the class-conscious spheres are speedily recovering from the charms of the mystification of parliamentary inactivity on the one hand, and from anarcho-syndicalism on the other.

[THE END.]

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September 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HEADS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 62. VOL. 6.]

LONDON, OCTOBER 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

THE LIBERAL PARTY CONDEMNED. LLOYD-GEORGE'S THREE-YEAR OLD JUDGMENT.

In the issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD for Dec. 1906, we printed a criticism of a speech—a remarkable speech—made at Birmingham on Oct. 22nd 1906 by Mr. Lloyd-George. He said that in returning the Liberal Government to power, the people had, in effect, declared: "We are going to give you a chance, but it is only a chance. . . . Here you have been tinkering for generations with reform, and the end of it all is slums, pauperism, and great want in the land of plenty." Lloyd-George declared that if the conditions which gave rise to this complaint of the people were not removed in three years, the Great Liberal Party would deserve to go, and a new movement would grow up to displace the Liberal "bunglers or rogues." We have not quite reached the three year limit, but are within easy sight of that end, and may justifiably remind "the people" of Mr. Lloyd-George's opinion and prophecy. The Liberal Government, the "strongest government of modern times," has had more than three years to show their hand and to commence their endeavour to remove the "great want in the land of plenty" if they intend to do so. The political memory of "the people" is proverbially short and they may have forgotten that in the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he and his colleagues deserve to be turned out if they do not accomplish in three years what we at the time declared to be impossible.

As governments go they have been strenuous, with autumn sessions (things of such working-class importance that some working-class organisations conduct special campaigns for them) and all-night sittings. They have passed countless bills and reshaped administration in many departments; but after all they have done we have to apply the Lloyd-George test: have they abolished the "great want in the land of plenty"?

The item in the programme of their accomplishments we are pointed to by exultant Liberals is the one of Old Age Pensions. The criticisms of this are too numerous, and have been laboured in these columns too often, to receive a detailed examination now, but that it is calculated to save the rates by inducing old veterans of labour to keep out of the workhouse,

where their maintenance will average

at age 11s. a week, is sufficient to

Rainbow to show the hollowness of its blessing.

Cheer. The particular item in which our prophet is interested, and which comes so near the end of the three year limit, is the Budget. The flagging interest and enthusiasm of its supporters is now being lashed into renewed vigour by Ministerialists, but whether the effects of the stimulus will last, assisted though it is by the political bankruptcy of the

official opposition, remains to be seen. The Budget has been labelled "Democratic" and "working-men's," although the reason for this is not very obvious. True, the Labour Party are among its supporters, and a recent demonstration in its favour was backed by certain branches of the I.L.P. and several trade unions, but there are probably other than working-class interests involved here. The whole of the bother is about the raising of the money, but the capitalist class *must* pay, for the simple but sufficient reason that they cannot get blood out of a stone. We are not concerned how it is raised so much as with the way it is spent; and when we look at the factors which have necessitated the extra revenue, we are amazed at the ecclésia that calls the Budget "democratic." The bulk of the exchequer is for the Navy and the Army. Dreadnoughts and Territorial Armies do nothing, surely, to remedy the "great want in a land of plenty." Soldiers are handy on occasions such as the one at Belfast; and though Dreadnoughts might not be able to be effective at Hull or at Grimsby when the workers become disaffected, there is no question that smaller naval fly are useful. Put even this hardly justifies the term "democratic," nor affords a reason for working-class enthusiasm.

The most subtle political factor in the carefully simulated campaign in favour of the Budget, the item upon which it is intended purely to focus working-class attention, is the introduction of the tax upon *wrengles.*

The landlord, doing nothing, is able, under existing fiscal arrangements to draw a proportion of the value given to land by the accumulation of population or the erection of factories, houses, etc. The proposal of the Government which has been designated "revolutionary" is a levy on this increased value. I am not opposed to the land tax, so much as to the private possession of the land entirely; but the position for us is simply that the disadvantages of the present arrangement fall on the industrial capitalist, while the position of the workman remains ever the same—that of "great want in the land of plenty."

While the process of the ground landlord bleeding the capitalist does not affect the working-class, for the reason that the capitalist pays the smallest wages possible all the time, so the similar process of the ground landlord bleeding the houseowner does not affect the worker, for the reason that the houseowner gets the highest rent possible all the time. But, as has been the case throughout that period of history that has seen the capitalist class question the supremacy of the landed aristocrats, the capitalists are once more prepared to use the working class for their own political ends. It is a matter of comparative ease to illustrate the injustice of the privilege

enjoyed by the owners of the land, while the privilege of the ownership of capital is more completely obscured by complicated processes of exchange. Nevertheless, there *short* is a complete essential identity in *and* both privileges, and while either *codling.* remains, the workman is the under-dog, suffering "great want in the land of plenty." To emphasise the idleness and the hollowness of land taxes as a solution of that poverty, it is but necessary in the first place to point to our Australasian Colonies which enjoy such taxation, but where, notwithstanding, the same social inequality prevails: in the second place it is sufficient to indicate that such inequality, arising from the distribution of wealth, the ownership of the direct processes of such production and distribution have a far greater effect than the more indirect ownership of the land; and as between the landlord and the capitalist, the direct despoiler of the workman is the capitalist, however he, in his turn, may be despoiled of his plunder by the landlord.

The distinction sought to be urged by Liberals generally between land and capital, and more particularly with regard to the conditions of ownership, do not hold water for one moment. The perfection of the processes and the instruments of production is in no way due to the capitalist class, but is the outcome of countless ages of evolution, and represents the coordinated experience of the race in the methods of maintaining its existence. That development is due to the workers who operate and fashion, rather than to the idlers who only own. The instruments of production are essentially a social and as necessary as land, and the private ownership of one can be maintained no more logically than the other. The Liberal Party in using the social necessity argument to combat the claims of the landlords, is preparing a red card for its own back when it maintains the claims of the capitalists.

The question immediately remaining to be solved is whether the workers are sufficiently conscious of their position as a class, against both the landlord and capitalist factions, to see through the latest attempt of their masters, and keep the issue to the broader, simpler one so excellently phrased by the very

The man who is now busy organising Issue Clearly the new side-track, viz., why is there, after three years of Liberal Government, no diminution of that "great want in the land of plenty?" Once the true answer to this pregnant question, an answer which only the untrained voice and pen of enlightened Labour dare formulate, is understood by the workers, the new movement predicted by Lloyd George will make short work of both Liberal and Tory "bunglers or rogues."

R. H. K.

BUNGLING BERNSTEIN.

"Evolutionary Socialism," by EDWARD BERNSTEIN. Published by I.L.P.

OFTEN when a certain theory or hypothesis is laid down in any science it has been found after a time, that a number of facts are discovered which the theory does not adequately explain. A revision of the theory is then necessary, or a new one, even, may be required.

On other occasions it has been found that the new facts were not accurately taken, and upon this being corrected the theory has been found sufficient for the needs of Science. Isaac Newton's theory of the Law of Gravity and Lamarck's theory of "Transformism" are classical cases in point.

In sociology Karl Marx and Frederick Engels were the first to formulate the theory that

MATERIAL INTERESTS

are the driving force of human actions, in the mass, while the methods of production and distribution of wealth formed the basis, and determined the form of society.

Examining the factors of social evolution they were able to point out, in the main, the path modern society is travelling and the end it must arrive at, and naturally all the capitalist apologists shrieked in concert at these "preposterous ideas." But whenever any of them attempted to come to close quarters they always came to grief.

Nowadays point after point is being admitted by various apologists until we have reached a stage where Professor Seligman, in his "Economic Interpretation of History," admits so much that we need not trouble much about the rest.

The book whose title is given above is written by one who professes to be a Marxist, but who tries to show "where the Marx-Engels theory appears to me to be especially mistaken or to be self-contradictory" (preface).

Marx and Engels were no penny-a-liners, as Bernstein, but men of immense knowledge and intellectual power, and a critic who would show them in error must be prepared to handle vast quantities of information in a

SCIENTIFIC MANNER

and logical style. Does Bernstein do this? Let one of his supporters, Mr. Austin F. Harrison, answer.

"His [Bernstein's] criticism was purely negative; his language—and probably intentionally so—obscure; his argument a labyrinth of antitheses, discussions and digressions."

Fortnightly Review, Jan. 1902.

The above was written before the book had appeared in English; now that it is at hand Harrison's statement is found fully justified. To attempt to follow this labyrinth would be a waste of time. All that is necessary is to take some of the important points and see how they will stand examination.

On page 15 we are told that "sciences, arts, a whole series of social relations are to-day much less dependent upon economics than formerly, or, in order to give no room for misconception, the point of economic development attained to-day leaves the ideological, and especially the ethical, factors, greater space for independent activity than was formerly the case."

This is one specimen of the supposed criticism and limitation of "The Economic Interpretation of History." To carry the least weight such a statement should show how the factors, "having greater space for independent activity," are thereby "less dependent upon economics." So far from showing any such thing the paragraph admits that this activity is

ENTIRELY BASED UPON

economic development, and that without it such activity could not exist.

In a footnote on page 36 an attempt is made to defend the "final utility" school because Marx says in Vol. 3 of "Capital," "the use value on a social basis appears here as the determining factor for the shares of the total social labour time which falls to the lot of the different particular spheres of production." How this affects the question of exchange-value—the real ground of dispute between the Marxist and Jevonian schools, our critic has not time to tell us. A far larger share of the total social labour time

is devoted to producing bread than sealskin coats, but the bread is far cheaper per lb. than the coats. The point is brought forward in another way when on pages 38-9 we are told that the theory of labour value is a key, "but this key refuses service over and above a certain point, and therefore it has become disastrous to nearly every disciple of Marx."

What is the point at which the key fails? Upon the answer to this question depends the value of the statement, and the answer we get is—nothing. Obviously the statement is worth as much as the answer.

Every student of economics knows that many able writers on economics have endeavoured to

SHOW WHERE THE KEY FAILS,

but from Rae to Bohm-Bawerk they have all proved ghastly failures. This may be one reason why Bernstein does not attempt the task. His book will probably circulate most widely among I.L.P. members, who, lacking knowledge of Marx and his critics, may be persuaded to accept such statements as true. Instead of attempting an answer, Bernstein airily offers another superior piece of information to his readers:

"A scientific basis for Socialism or Communism cannot be supported on the fact only that the wage worker does not receive the full value of the product of his work. 'Marx' says Engels in the preface to the *Poverty of Philosophy*, 'has never based his communistic demands on this, but on the necessary collapse of the capitalist mode of production which is being daily more nearly brought to pass before our eyes.'" (p. 39.)

Socialists, of course, always teach that the

WORKERS MUST BECOME CONSCIOUS
or have knowledge of, their exploitation before they will free themselves from wage slavery, but we may remark that the statement of Engels is taken from a passage wherein he criticises Rodbertus for mixing up morals in what should have been an economic analysis.

We are then treated to a section on "The Distribution of Wealth in the Modern Community" for the purpose of examining the statement regarding the necessary collapse of society and to show its falsity. A short sketch is given of Marx's description of the development of capitalism and the cause of crises, and the question is asked, "is all that true?" Note the answer.

"Yes and no. It is true above all as a tendency. The forces painted are there and work in the given direction. And the proceedings are also taken from reality. The fall of the profit rate is a fact, the increase of the rate of surplus-value is a fact." (pp. 41-2)

We rub our eyes. Do we read correctly? If all the above is admitted what is left for Marx's opponent to quibble about? But we are told on page 42, "When the statement does not agree with reality it is not because something false is said, but because what is said is incomplete."

Bernstein then endeavours to show where

THIS "INCOMPLETENESS" EXISTS

and this section is certainly the trickiest in the book. It therefore deserves detailed attention.

After saying there is a lack of exhaustive statistics upon the division of shares in Joint Stock undertakings he states: "the 'Trust' has quite a different effect upon the distribution of wealth from what it seems to outsiders to possess," and gives such figures as the following to support the statement.

The English Sewing Thread Trust . . . counts 12,300 shareholders: of these
6,000 with £60 average capital
4,500 " £150
1,800 " £315 "

Note first that no evidence whatever is given as to the authenticity of the figures, nor is the total capital of the company given. Obviously the value of the figures in face of the latter omission is almost nil. Then we are told with reference to J. & P. Coats, Ltd., that the position "is similar," but, curiously, no figures are given at all. The Coats combine is more than three times the size of the English Sewing Thread Trust, and, according to the fancy figuring of Bernstein, should have given us still greater proofs of the distribution of wealth.

Only those absolutely ignorant of present-day production can be misled by such a fallacy. The size of the factories give

NO CLUE WHATSOEVER
to the ownership. Thus the Imperial Tobacco Company have factories of all sorts and sizes up

Bernstein's figures give us a sum of £1,602,000, leaving £1,398,000, or nearly half the total capital in someone else's hands. Who holds this huge share, and therefore dominating power? The Trust was formed by combining about sixteen firms, and it obviously is the principle owners of these firms who hold the vast capital given above and thereby actually control the whole business.

J. & P. Coats, according to Mr. Money (same article), have a Capital of £10,000,000, and make a profit of £3,000,000 a year. Coats, Ltd. combine the firms of Coats, Paisley; Clarke & Co.; Jonas Brooks & Bros.; and James Chadwick & Bro. The heads of these particular firms, particularly Coats, hold such a large proportion of the shares that Bernstein dare not give the figures.

But this is not all. The averaging of the amounts per shareholder is a piece of
DELIBERATE MISLEADING.
which the common law allows must be inviolable in every community so long as, and in the measure in which the common law allows them. To take away lawful property otherwise than by compensation, is confiscation, which can only be justified in cases of extreme pressure of circumstances—war, epidemics, etc. Above all

RIGHTS OF PROPERTY

instead of the contrary. The same applies to America, where according to Bernstein there are "910 manufacturers of agricultural implements with 30,723 workers," an average of 33 to each factory. But this industry is almost entirely in the hands of a huge combine to whom these various factories belong. And once more we have the curious fact that in a table of figures given for Prussia it is the "giant establishments" that show by far the greatest relative increase! (Page 57.) Bernstein indeed says "A remarkable movement towards the great establishments, and often two or more of the establishments enumerated are only departments of one and the same enterprise. The process of industrial and commercial concentration is most obvious" (pp. 57-8). Then why was the book written?

Then we are brought into the region that is supposed to show the greatest evidence of all against concentration—agriculture. A table is given for the year 1895 for Germany, but as no table is given for any other year it is useless for any comparative purpose. In Holland, we are told, the number of large holdings have actually decreased, but as we are not given the area of these holdings we may as well assume that

THEY HAVE BEEN COMBINED.
France is the classic land of peasant proprietorship, and owing to its laws of inheritance should give support to Bernstein's views. Bracke, in "Le Socialisme," gives the following figures taken from the Minister of Agriculture's speech delivered on 14th March, 1909.

and down the country. Salmon & Gluckstein's various shops with A. Baker & Co's and A. Jones & Co's numerous branches are all owned by the above Tobacco Co. Messrs. Freeman, Hardy & Willis have shops in nearly every provincial town, and by their amalgamation with Rabbits & Sons of London have obtained control of a large number of shops in the Metropolis.

Lipton's, Ltd., have shops in nearly every industrial centre, as have Boots, Ltd., the chemists. Most of these shops and businesses are small or medium-sized, but are, nevertheless, exactly

EVIDENCE OF CONCENTRATION

of the productive side of co-operation has shown how impossible it is for the manager to be under the control or at the recall of the producers. Indeed, Bradlaugh's old objection to Socialism, that you could not get a community to work together except under a strong religious bond is given in his very words without acknowledgment.

* * *

The debate on the Eight Hours Bill in the House of Commons last year March 18 brought forth admissions from "Labour" members that with a decreased working day the existing output could be maintained without increased expenditure to the employer.

In his address to the Economic Science and Statistics section of the British Association, Professor Chapman said:

"These changes" i.e., in the character of the world's work "all tended to specialisation, to concentration, both in working and in leisure, and to constant demands for the curtailment of the working hours of the day."

"In the course of long investigations he had found no instance in which an acceleration of hours had resulted in a proportionate curtailment of output." There was, indeed, every reason to suppose that the production in the shorter hours seldom fell short of the production in the longer hours, and in some cases the product or its value had actually been augmented after a short interval. He (Prof. Chapman) sought also to show that the value of leisure would inevitably rise with progress and that the working day would become less in the future."

Daily News, 27.8.09.

* * *

Thus the "Labour" members, unconsciously, and Professor Chapman, consciously, arrive at the same conclusion, viz., that shortening the working day under capitalist rule means a similar or greater output than results from the longer working day. This is exactly the position laid down by Karl Marx in "Capital," Chap. XV, p. 41.

Marx may rest in peace. If Bernstein is the best agent the capitalist class can find in the Social Democratic Party of Germany their intellectual bankruptcy is glaring. For he is not only a member of the German Party, but has been one of its Parliamentary candidates. The reason may be that they were overawed by his statement that "Social Democracy required a Kant who should judge the received opinion and examine it critically and with deep acuteness." (Page 223.) How flattered the intellectual giant of Konigsberg would be could he return, to find his prototype in sociology, according to Bernstein, in—Bernstein. J. FITZGERALD.

Coincident with the statement of Professor Chapman just alluded to we have the Board of Education issuing a revised syllabus of physical education. The reason is that the high pressure rate of existence calls for a physically better equipped worker. Education being under capitalist control, it becomes necessary to prepare the future worker for the stress he has to undergo by the introduction of games, etc. We have already partial measures of feeding school children in order that the physical exercises shall not be wasted. In fact, the two schemes hang together, one being the complement of the other.

* * *

"This country, and other countries, have become dominated by a system of commercialism by which wealth and power so unevenly distributed that for thousands of persons permission to live, even on the borders of starvation, is only granted upon conditions of labour compared to which the lot of the old Negro slave was princely. The greatness of a nation is judged by the amount of its exports and imports, rather than the happiness of its people. And so we have little children working in the factories, and women, to get back to their work, neglecting their duties of motherhood, for which alone they were created. The inevitable result is the production of a large proportion of the candidates for the asylums."

Manchester Guardian, 8.11.09.

No, the above is not the racing of a bare-brained Socialist, but a fragment of truth as told by Dr. Frank Pearce, Medical Superintendent Lancashire Asylums Board, in his Annual Report to that body.

* * *

Shackleton, as president of the Trade Unions Congress, desired Richard Bell to express regret to the Railway Clerks Association for having sided with the masters in dispute between the N.E.Ry. Co. and the R.C.A. but when Ben Tillett got up and stated that "Mr. Asquith is a liar," who was the first to raise the defense of the master class, and to fight and baffle over this smirching of their representative's "age-old name"? Shackleton promptly despatched the withdrawal of the remark. Bell stood with the masters in their efforts to prevent the Railway Clerks and adjoining against them, yet the whole Labour Party stood solid behind the arsenal of shot and shell for working-class brotherhood—the Budget.

JAMES.

* * *

Knowing that the S.P.G.B. have sent speakers to Nottingham lately, I wondered at first whether the "new, vigorous policy of complete independence" of the Notts I.L.P. was a consequence of these visits, but upon reading the article in the *Labour Leader* a little further I found they were "marching steadily along along the traditional lines of the I.L.P." and then I knew why "many social attractions to keep the members together" were necessary. The lack of unanimity as to the objective of the Party for the time

being makes necessary the social functions which figure so largely in the I.L.P.

* * *

The treatment of America is brief, as the only evidence forthcoming is the statement that "There can be no doubt that . . . in the Eastern States of the United States the small and medium agricultural holding is increasing everywhere." (Page 71.) The authority for the above statement is—Bernstein.

* * *

London School of Economics & Political Science 2007
Socialist Standard 1909

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,



FRIDAY,

OCT. 1, 1909.

"De Massa ob de Shephold."

The annual meeting of trades union "shepherds" and fleecers has taken place. Ipswich was the venue chosen on this occasion. The old Essex town has been the scene of many a sale of fatted beasts and meek-eyed beaters in years gone by, but a new kind of cattle was bought and sold there a few days since, a new breed of sheep—more meek of eye, more trustful of their shepherd, more timidly plaintive in their complaining bleat, than any which have preceded them to the local market place—passed under the hammer and on to their unsuspecting fate.

Of course the gathering was graced by the presence of the Mayor of the town and the two sitting M.P.'s for the locality, presumably as the direct representatives of the butchers (M.P.—meat purveyor, you see). Equally of course the former opened his mouth and spoke, saying, "These are our faithful shepherds, who do look well after our mut'n' wool, who do cry 'wolf' when the Socialists appear, and who do—Gordinoz—say they sit—contrive to get our sheep into the market in the pink of condition as to fleece, and all prime and rosy as to meat, and warranted quite to ride and drive as temper. It ain't often I drop into poetry (I'll have pleasure in dropping into somewhere else with Pete when I've finished with this job), but I am reminded, forcibly reminded, when I picture the sheep they have brought us to-day, of Shellem's well-known lines:

"Their wool is wrapped about their ears,
Their wool is wrapped about their eyes,"

and as long as we leave it to these chaps the wool will continue to be where it is. The good shepherd is worthy of his hire, in other words these chaps deserve well of us."

Of course other things transpired at the Congress, though of less importance. There was the indictment of Richard Bell for defaming, in the Parliamentary debate in July on the North Eastern Railways Bill, the action of the company's manager to prevent the combination of the railway clerks. The delegates, being trade union delegates (and perhaps afraid of the law of lie Bell), forgave him—the wool is wrapped about their eyes. The Government Unemployed Insurance scheme was hailed with great joy. The Salvation Army, so near the heart of J.R. Macdonald, who once declared that he had "many irons in the fire," but he hadn't one iron that they "did not hold one end of" (the hot end, it is to be presumed, or he would not have been so cheerful)—was put "through the hop." Ben Tillett placed it on record that all Cabinet Ministers are liars, greatly to the horror of Shackleton. Thorne pictured the unemployed luxuriously lounging in the Labour Exchanges waiting for the masters to call and ask them to go to work. Tillett moved that Congress call upon the Government to appoint a Labour Minister with Cabinet rank. Since he aspires so high, and "trade unionism no longer waits upon the orthodox parties to carry out its wishes," Tillett may consider himself appointed to the select circle of "liars."

The dominant note of Congress was love toward the Liberal Party, a sure sign of the near approach of a General Election. The "labour" papers all reported "some progress," as must we also—backwards.

Firstly he enlarged with much effect upon the number of delegates present and trade unionists represented as compared with the Congress held in the Eastern counties in 1894. A man of less calibre might have spoilt this by letting it slip out that, however the present numbers compared with those of 1894, there had been a steady decrease in those figures for some years now, but not so Shackleton. Again he said with convincing blandness (a point to be noted, for it is often not so much the lie you tell as the way you tell it) "Trade unionism no longer waits upon the orthodox parties to carry out its wishes." How can they keep such a man down? He is bound to rise—like scum in a pot. And talking of pots, did the "revolutionary" Thorne cackle under the pot? Perhaps he dared not for fear the pot should boil over and the scum souse him out.

Better a little spark beneath the pot
Than in a boiling-over lost outright.
—O. Ma.

In another part of his speech Shackleton sang the praises of the "generous and kindly disposed Liberal Party," and from his "exalted" position beseeched his brothers in "arms" to arouse their "apathetic" constituents to a sense of implicit trust in their "generous benefactors" the Liberal Party. "We see in this Budget great possibilities. The care of the aged, the feeding of the necessitous school-children and the more humane treatment of the unemployed workers will make ever increasing demands on the public purse, and we see for the first time the opportunity of raising the money without unduly taxing the poor to keep the poor." Count to his honour that he spoke with deep emotion. Dilly, dilly, murmured the butchers, and the sheep said Ba! and wept. So copiously did the tears flow that Shackleton might be said to have cast his bread upon the waters. And was it returned unto him manfully? Yes, Mr. Shackleton later announced that the Board of Trade had sent him word that they had graciously consented to have all the appointments of officials of Labour Exchanges made by a committee consisting of three persons—an employer, an official of the Board of Trade, and—Mr. Shackleton himself. What a day for Labour! How the delegates did cheer! Virtue rewarded! Ability recognised! Striking confirmation of his eulogism of their "generous benefactors," the Liberal Party. Could the Board of Trade have been listening at the keyhole? or was it inspiration? At any rate it is another bond of union between the "generous, kindly disposed" Liberal Party and the very unorthodox Labour Party. An I now, perhaps Shackleton will be able to do something for unemployed children who have got over their "teething." He can certainly do something for his fellow-shepherds, and we hear that the "revolutionaries" have already hidden the red flag, while the Thorne is quiet beneath the pot.

Of course other things transpired at the Congress, though of less importance. There was the indictment of Richard Bell for defaming, in the Parliamentary debate in July on the North Eastern Railways Bill, the action of the company's manager to prevent the combination of the railway clerks. The delegates, being trade union delegates (and perhaps afraid of the law of lie Bell), forgave him—the wool is wrapped about their eyes. The Government Unemployed Insurance scheme was hailed with great joy. The Salvation Army, so near the heart of J.R. Macdonald, who once declared that he had "many irons in the fire," but he hadn't one iron that they "did not hold one end of" (the hot end, it is to be presumed, or he would not have been so cheerful)—was put "through the hop." Ben Tillett placed it on record that all Cabinet Ministers are liars, greatly to the horror of Shackleton. Thorne pictured the unemployed luxuriously lounging in the Labour Exchanges waiting for the masters to call and ask them to go to work. Tillett moved that Congress call upon the Government to appoint a Labour Minister with Cabinet rank. Since he aspires so high, and "trade unionism no longer waits upon the orthodox parties to carry out its wishes," Tillett may consider himself appointed to the select circle of "liars."

Arising from the correspondence a member said it was sad to think the Sunday morning discussion class was to be abandoned, and what was the reason? Answered that the previous year had seen a successful choir and cycling club, but that for some incomprehensible reason the discussion class had been a complete fiasco. Besides, a discussion class attracted a certain sententious type of individual not possessed of the sweet reasonableness of the choir members. They saw the dilemma. The wreckers or blackleg Socialists would attend and argue indefinitely, while their own members were apathetic toward politics. It had, however, been definitely decided to form a class for the study of botany; a dart club was also to be originated. He believed, said the secretary, their comrades at Sarle Hyke boasted the finest dart team in the Kingdom.

AN S.D.P. CURIO.

A SURPRISING discovery has been recently made in an old, old Roman camp at Elsick, near Sipton. It was a volume shaped like an exercise book, made of that inferior kind of paper which stamped it at once as reminiscent of the twentieth century. In some strange way it had become mingled with the potteries and coins of the old camp, perhaps left there by some twentieth century explorer. A thorough examination proved it to be an old minute book belonging to the Burnleigh Branch of the Social Democratic Party, and as luckily a specialist in things historical is now investigating the wobbling and bewildering policy of this one time well-known party it will perchance be of valuable historical interest. I write a few extracts culled at random from this mysterious volume.

The Secretary, Mr. I. Drivng, read the minutes of previous meeting. Twenty-five members present. Questioned were invited on the minutes. Tertullian inquired about the antics of Momminsen, who had recently joined the Tariff Reformers (these being one of the side-tracking sects of that time). Was it true that this Momminsen had been cheekily saying that he had as much right to advocate Tariff Reform as a palliative as other Socialists had Free Imports? Another member remarked that Momminsen was gulling the workers by a deliberate distortion of the word "palliative," for was not Socialism itself a palliative?

Arising out of the minutes Eusebius enquired as to the truth in the report of a member mentioned having tried to form a suicide club, consisting of those members of the branch who were Conscious Pessimists, and uttered in unison an amount of commonplace, pseudo-philosophic pessimism averse the impossibility of cultivating the working class—not including in the phrase "working class," of course, the members named. He was informed that the allegation was an S.P.G.B. calumny, and that one S.P.G.B. firebrand in particular was persistently commenting on the alleged indifference of certain S.D.P.s because they had, after a few years' experience of reform agitation been "fed up" with it. Many other members of the branch had also been charged by the same clique with holding a foolish fatalism and with being like those Eastern philosophers mentioned by Gibbon who "sat motionless year after year absorbed in the contemplation of their own navels."

Celsus questioned about members of the branch sitting on the directive board of the Co-operative Society, whether the Society was a revolutionary body, and could members improve working-class conditions by being on the picnic or library committees of the society. He was told that fine work had been done by our members, that margarine was being bought shillings a cwt cheaper owing to the exertions of one of our members, and that Mr. H. G. Wells' great work, "New Worlds for Old," had been placed on the library shelves.

Origen asked the secretary if they could not obtain more uniformity in their speakers, that one week the speaker would condemn palliatives and the four following weeks perhaps the lecturers would speak of reforms with laudation. It was pointed out that the action of a certain organisation made it imperative that occasionally we have speakers who would put the straight position, but it would be seen to at election times that the more extreme men were silenced in some way.

Arising from the correspondence a member said it was sad to think the Sunday morning discussion class was to be abandoned, and what was the reason? Answered that the previous year had seen a successful choir and cycling club, but that for some incomprehensible reason the discussion class had been a complete fiasco. Besides, a discussion class attracted a certain sententious type of individual not possessed of the sweet reasonableness of the choir members. They saw the dilemma. The wreckers or blackleg Socialists would attend and argue indefinitely, while their own members were apathetic toward politics. It had, however, been definitely decided to form a class for the study of botany; a dart club was also to be originated. He believed, said the secretary, their comrades at Sarle Hyke boasted the finest dart team in the Kingdom.

Augustine questioned on the matter of Socialist councillor Harry Lee Henry being on the committee of the Guild of Help, an organisation formed for the economic distribution of alms. The secretary said that the Guild of Help was a non-party organisation, witness the fact that both Liberal and Tory were connected with it. The larger a material platform, remarked the chairman, the more it would accommodate, but the larger a mental platform the smaller the number it would hold. As an organisation they must be tolerant so as to attract all and sundry to the fold.

Epictetus said: arising from this point, had their candidates come to any agreement on the reform question? It was answered that one was opposed to secular education, another to compulsory evening schools, another to proportional representation, but they had united on the common ground of a complete abolition of the smoke nuisance, and incidentally on the question of Socialism.

Lucian asked could they not amalgamate with the L.L.P. in the town and thus prevent confusion in the minds of the workers. They had a common aim, Socialism, and agreed on the desirability of working with the trade union forces. Why not present a united front to the enemy? Answer: the S.D.P. as an organisation refused to join the National Labour Party, but locally individual branches had a free hand. Just as a general on the field of battle must adapt his tactics in different parts of the field to varying requirements, must sometimes practice contradictory tactics at one and the same time, may both be traitor and patriot, cautious tactician and daring fighter; just as in logic a thing can both be and not be—

Here the manuscript ends.
JOHN A. DAWSON.

THE RAINY DAY.

The world's arena has been somewhat crowded latterly, and he must be a singularly moribund individual who has allowed the series of recent world-happenings to drop through his cerebral filter without observing that we are on the eve of stupendous changes. Putting aside the North Pole incident, and even the question of the abolition or retention of the Censor, we think it vastly more important to consider that Japan has jumped out of feudalism into modern capitalism, and that almost within the memory of still young men, Japan has now quite a number of well equipped, up-to-date cotton mills, with which she is not only supplying her home demand, but is exporting to China. She is thus a new and dangerous competitor in the international race for markets. Turkey now shows signs of throwing off the sloth of ages and of joining in the scramble. Persia, too, and Egypt, are profiting by the example of their contiguous neighbours and are responding to the stimulus of imported civilisation. The tremendous expansive powers of the means of production are, to the intelligent student at least, well known, and it would seem only a question of a very short time, before the countries named pass through the stages of the importation of machinery and staple products to being self-supporting, and at last to that where a surplus is produced and exportation begins. This stage once reached, and possessing a proletariat who can rub along comfortably on twopence or threepence a day, it is easy to see where the trouble will commence.

Capital, that remarkably shy bird which is always "going abroad," will have to either consider the advisability of an inter-planetary trip, or throw up the sponge. The latter process an awakened and intelligent proletariat can materially assist, and our steadily increasing membership tends to show that we are getting this.

Whilst, however, these portentous happenings are being enacted abroad, some no less interesting incidents are occupying the stage at home, in this our own, our native land. The comparatively puny event, the Budget, has been recently dealt with in our columns. Its chief purpose has been to give the Labour Party another opportunity of exhibiting their identity with the enemy, and of justifying the name that Engels applied to their particular hotch-potch of ideas, demands, etc. He called it Flunkeyism.

But to get on, what we would particularly point out is that the period of bad trade, which has been with us now for several years, has apparently developed a deep and abiding affection for us, and in spite of the newspaper predictions of "better year," it is still the same experience to find hundreds of applicants for one poorly remunerated job, still one reads regularly, almost daily, of some poor devil's suicide through want of employment. And in view of the facts just stated we feel almost justified in assuming that capitalism, at least in Great Britain, has reached that point where a bad time causes to alternate an I we get all depression, or slight and short returns to "prosperity." With the home market almost at a standstill owing to the inability of the worker to purchase back more than a mere fraction of his products; with foreign markets becoming ever more restricted; with an enormous army of unemployed always on hand and close on a million people classed as paupers: with all these meaning facts confronting them it is very evident that the "masters of the bread" are feeling far from comfortable. The "good time coming" has failed to materialise, so something must be done to quieten working-class unrest and if possible to offer a counter-attraction to the steadily increasing agitation of the wicked Socialist.

Result (1) the Budget, (2) Insurance against Unemployment. The former, as we have observed, has been dealt with in our columns already. It is of the latter we now wish to speak.

Mr. Winston Churchill, in an interview which the *Daily Mail* (16.8.09) claims to have had with him, was considered enough to explain the proposed scheme to the interviewer, and in doing so exposed, not only the cloven hoof, but the goat-like haunches, the horned head and leering grin of capitalism's patron saint, the Father of Lies. The main features of the scheme are these: It will be (1) compulsory; (2) contributory; (3) divided up into different sections for different trades.

"Compulsion was necessary. Voluntary schemes fail for the reason that most of those who join them are men likely to be often unemployed."

See the beautiful and touching solicitude of our rulers for the comfort and well-being of the worker. Only those likely to benefit joined under a voluntary system. What is wanted is a membership composed of men who will only want to pay in and never draw out.

"Contributions from men and employers were also necessary. To begin with, the country could not afford to do without them; and moreover, the idea is to increase the stability of our institutions by giving the mass of industrial workers a direct interest in maintaining them. With a 'stake in the country' in the form of insurance against evil days these workers will pay no attention to the vague promises of revolutionary Socialism."

Thus Mr. Churchill. The position of the S.P.G.B. regarding palliatives is, or should be, well known, and we think the above a striking confirmation of our attitude. Social reform is the antidote to Socialism. Palliatives are the sops thrown out to keep the workers busy while the capitalists make their position more secure, and serve much the same purpose as the impediments thrown out by a man in a sleigh pursued by wolves.

The details of the scheme are also extremely interesting. The amount of subscription is not yet definitely fixed, but will probably be 2½d. per week from the worker, 2½d. a week from the employer, and the same from the State. Every worker is to have a card upon which stamps to the value of his own and his employer's contribution must be stuck each week. The employer is to affix the stamp, deducting the worker's 2½d. from his wages. The employer may to save time and trouble, send all his cards to the local labour exchange with a cheque for the amount due, and the cards will be stamped without any further trouble to him.

The labour exchanges and the insurance plan will work closely together. When a worker loses his job he is to report himself to the exchange, which immediately tries to find him work. For a week he receives nothing. It is assumed that he will have saved enough to last

him a week, and in the meantime the exchange endeavours to find him a job in order to save the fund.

When the exchange hears of work likely to suit the unemployed worker he must either take it or explain to a committee of masters and men why he objects. If they consider his objection unsatisfactory he is bound to accept the job or lose his out-of-work allowance. If neither the man nor the exchange can find work, then after seven days he begins to receive the tremendous sum of eight shillings or less per week, which may go on for fifteen weeks, or more if the benefits are slightly less. If still out of work after twenty weeks he drops out of benefit, and when next he finds employment must start all over again. The second time he has to subscribe longer before he becomes entitled to claim on the funds. The original period of probation will most probably be eight months. The second will be longer and the third longer still. This will have the effect of clearing the fund of those who are habitually unemployed for long spells. The frequently out-of-work must seek relief of the distress committee: they are outside the limits of the labour exchange and insurance system, which is in no sense charitable. "It is a purely economic and mathematical business arrangement for preventing waste."

The unemployed problem is a necessary consequence of and an indispensable adjunct to the capitalist method of wealth making. The introduction of machinery and improved methods into industry, renders an increasing number of workers superfluous. These form what Engels calls "the reserve army of labour," a weapon for crushing the wages of those in work down to mere subsistence level, and a store from which drafts may be drawn to meet the fluctuations in trade. But the capitalist is faced with another difficulty. The worker's wage is crushed so near the bare subsistence level that he is unable to put anything away to tide over a spell of unemployment of even short duration. The consequence is that when the capitalist next takes him down off the shelf, he is devitalized, spiritless and out of condition generally, hence not so energetic, not so productive, as the capitalist wants. The proposed schemes of insurance will just provide a few meagre shillings to keep the landlord off for a week or two, and with the two or three shillings he has cheated himself out of during the probation period (eight months at least) it is hoped he will keep himself physically fit until the capitalist has need of his services again.

What a hollow sham! What a mockery!! Many of the greatest employers of labour have warmly welcomed the idea. Sir Charles McLaren, for instance, believes it will add materially to the wealth of the nation.

Workers, beware when the enemy warmly welcomes anything affecting your relations with him! You may be fairly sure that it is not for your benefit. When you have a dispute with him as to what constitutes a "fair" portion of your product to hand you back as wages, notice how he "warmly welcomes" the troops who go down to blow your brains out. Notice how he "warmly welcomes" the establishment of conciliation boards when a mere glance at statistics show an ever greater proportion of disputes settled, through them, in favour of the masters. Workers, how long are you going to chase the Will-o'-the-wisps the master class is never tired of contriving for your greater befoulement? All the budgets, tariff reforms, insurance and other capitalist schemes won't alter the fact that you have to seek the permission of the owners of the means of life, to work, as a means to live. Nothing save Socialism, the ownership by the people of those means, will change the conditions that make you hirelings, slaves, lackeys; who receive only a fragment of the wealth you alone produce, when you are fortunate enough to be graciously allowed to produce it—for someone else.

If you are convinced that in Socialism alone is to be found your only escape, do not wait for someone else to join, but come in and help to build up a solid party. We are often asked how are we going to bring this better state about. Believe us, no select half-dozen are going to do it, but you, and I, and all of us, combined as a class, can do that, and anything else humanly possible that we wish—when you join. Come in.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA.
Dominion Executive Committee,
Vancouver, B.C.
Aug. 2, '09.

RESOLUTION.

In view of the fact that a demand has been made in various quarters that this committee take steps to affiliate with the International Socialist Bureau, it has become necessary that the committee define its position on this question.

Whereas, the I.S.B. has seen fit to admit to membership and representation certain non-Socialist bodies, particularly the British Labour Party; and

Whereas such parties are not only ignorant of Socialism, but practice openly the most shameless policy of fusion and compromise with capitalist parties, advocating at most a number of petty, and, in many cases, misleading reforms; and

Whereas, such endorsement of the I.S.B. can only result in the encouragement and fostering of "fake" Labour and pseudo-Socialist parties to the detriment of the Socialist Party proper, and the misleading and betrayal of the working class; and such action also affords encouragement and justification for that element existing to a greater or less extent in all Socialist Parties, which is in favour of opportunistic methods and compromise; and

Whereas, this committee considers that the Party funds can be expended more usefully for purposes of propaganda and organisation than in a way that has little more than sentimental value if any;

For these reasons this Committee declines to consider any affiliation which entails the slightest suspicion of fusion or compromise. Such action would, moreover, be a direct violation of the constitution of the Party, which expressly forbids any such action.

This resolution, in the above terms, to be forwarded to the International Socialist Bureau, to the affiliated Socialist Parties, and to the Provincial Executive Committee. In point of fact, to be given the widest possible publicity.

THE DOMINION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

[We reprint the above as requested and are pleased to note that the British Labour Party is appreciated in Canada at its true worth.—Ed. "S.S."]

To the Editor.

Returning from my holidays a few days since, my attention was drawn to a letter which appeared in the *Socialist Standard* of July over my signature (there being only one Jno. Rhind of Old Trafford). Now I wish to entirely repudiate it and to state that this is the first communication you have ever received from me or by my authority.

To my mind it is a very mean trick, and unworthy of any man, more especially if he professes to be a Socialist.

I may further state that I consider life too short to waste my time over such side-tracking questions as who pays the rates.

Trusting you will give this repudiation the same publicity as you gave the letter referred to,

JNO. RHIND

[We regret, of course, that Mr. Rhind should have been—as it appears—"tricked"; but from information to hand we gather that he has not been misrepresented. The "side-tracking" is all with the Tories, Liberals, Labourites and pseudo-Socialists of no matter what stripe, who seek to interest and keep busy the workers with the amount of the rates rather than with Socialism.—Ed. "S.S."]

H. Harrison (Salford) asks:

How does a Trade Unionist stand in respect to membership of your Party seeing that he supports palliative measures—8 hours day, etc., and in many ways upholds the present system?

A member of the S.P.G.B., like others, has to live, and in some trades cannot do so without being a member of a trade union. He is often warranted in adhering to a trade union because it to some extent slackens the tendency of working-class conditions to worsen: it offers the means of somewhat more effectively resisting the employers than were he isolated.

But your S.P.G.B. member remains a Socialist though a member of a trade union, and will not fail as opportunity offers to point out the weakness of the trade union position, its lack of understanding of capitalism and its consequent faulty tactics. He will oppose the support of "Labour" M.P.s as far as possible and generally carry on the work of a Socialist, which is, at the present juncture, mostly the work of propaganda. How much of his time and energy may be advisedly spent with the trade union his experience will decide.—Ed. "S.S."

Wm. Mutter (Manchester) writes:

Can member of the S.P.G.B. (1) stand for his trade union as a delegate for the L.R.C.? (2)

(2) Take the chair for a Free-thought lecturer?

(1) No. For in doing so he would be joining another political party—an anti-Socialist party, and therefore breaking our Principles and Rules.

(2) Yes—if the meeting has no political character.—Ed. "S.S."

Sir,—The philosophy of the S.P.G.B. as I understand it from your platform and literature is as follows: "The workers must become class-consciously organised for the capture of the political machinery, and by so doing gain control over the armed forces. They would then be able to work out their own emancipation." But the capitalist class, seeing this organisation growing, may hand over control of the armed forces to a private company. Ought not, therefore, the workers organise industrially so that element existing to a greater or less extent in all Socialist Parties, which is in favour of opportunistic methods and compromise?

The question is briefly answered in the affirmative in our Manifesto; not, however, that the failure of the political means is contemplated, but for reasons given in our answer to H. Harrison. In the light of history our correspondent has surely allowed his imagination to play tricks with him when he supposes the armed forces passed by the capitalist class "to a private company." The thing is to make our class Socialist: the rest follows—Ed. "S.S."

S.D.P. AND TAXATION.

H. M. HYNDMAN (S.D.P.) in *Justice*, 7.8.09, says that "If Mr. Lloyd-George were to bring about a reduction of Rates and Taxes by the Confiscation of rent for that purpose it would only benefit the Capitalist Class," thus affirming that rates and taxes are no concern of the working class.

E. Belfort Bax and H. Quelch (S.D.P.) in their "Catechism of Socialism" say "that the Working Class do not pay taxes, but that they are paid out of the surplus value robbed by the Capitalist Class from the Working Class."

Miss Kough (S.D.P.) speaking for the Watford Socialist Society on August 8th last, in advocating Adult Suffrage said that it was "only right that working class women who have to pay their share of the taxes should have a vote and a voice in the spending of those taxes."

When asked to reconcile her statement with that of Hyndman in *Justice*, the organ of the party she was a member of, Miss Kough said she "was not going to be answerable for wild statements which appear in papers." This is cruel! Poor Hyndman!

When the position of Bax and Quelch was pointed out to the lady she replied that she did "not care what they said, anybody with common sense knows the workers do pay taxes." That is why the audience applauded the statement: it was common sense, which is so often uncommon nonsense.

But to accuse Bax and Quelch of having no sense in these matters—well, it must be spite against Bax for his attitude on the woman question. But what about Quelch?—well, let them fight it out. Where are we now? Do the workers pay taxes? According to the S.D.P. we don't know. The S.P.G.B. have repeatedly pointed out in their organ that they do not and nothing has or can be brought forward to show they do—so the working class do not pay rates or taxes.

Watford.

A LOOK ROUND.

The "Holloway and Hornsey Press" of Sept. 3rd says "Messrs. J. Keith and Blackham, Ltd., whose works are at the rear of Holloway Hall, advertised for some gas-fitters. They were told to apply at 11 o'clock, but at an early hour crowds began to assemble. They lined each side of Holloway Road and blocked the whole roadway leading to the works. So great was the pressure that the gates leading to the works were forced in, and one man had to be taken to the hospital. As a last resort the police had to be fetched and taken into the works by a side entrance, and the men driven away by the arm of the law."

"Now the great majority of these men were trained workmen, masters of their trade, yet over a thousand turned up when only twenty places were vacant!" Some of these men had been works managers, and they possessed the highest testimonials, and yet were willing to take a job as an ordinary gas-fitter."

* * *

The same journal naturally asks "What is the use of repeating the parrotty that the cause of unemployment is that our lads do not learn a trade, when the fact stares us in the face that over a thousand men fight with one another for work for twenty?"

* * *

Speaking at Wallasey Wood on Sunday, Aug. 8th, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, M.P. said "They had thirty-four men in the House of Commons, returned there without thanks to the Liberal and Tory parties (cries of 'Question' and 'No'). Those thirty-four Labour Members had been returned to the House of Commons often in opposition to both Liberal and Tory, and in those constituencies where either one or the other parties did not oppose the Labour Party it was because they knew it was hopeless to do so, and so made a virtue of necessity. (Laughter)." *Labour Leader*, August 13th.

What an ungrateful lot to be sure: "returned without thanks to the Liberal and Tory parties" indeed! What will the seven thousand Liberals think who voted for Keir Hardie at the last general election?

* * *

But the Liberals have the thanks of Keir Hardie after all. At the same meeting he stated that "The present Liberal Government was granting reforms—Old Age Pensions, the Budget, the Miners' Eight Hours Act and measures of that kind. Credit was due to the Government for these measures." (Italics ours.)

And why did the Government pass these bills? "It was the presence of the Labour Party."

We leave Keir Hardie to explain the advantages to be derived by the working class from any of the above bills.

* * *

Speaking of the Eight Hours Bill the *Sunday Times* (August 1st) says "The miners have recently gained the advantages of the Eight Hours Act and ever since the coalfields have been seething with discontent. Prompted, no doubt, by the consideration arising out of the changed condition established by the Act, the Scottish coalowners sought a reduction of wages, and the dispute which followed assumed national dimensions."

Apart from this there has also been an attempt by the masters to compel the men to work the eight hours right off without a stoppage for meals, while we know from past experience that a reduction of hours usually results in an even greater speeding up of the worker, a greater expenditure of energy in the shorter period leaving him at the end of the day in a worse condition, physically and mentally, than when working under the old conditions.

* * *

The Commission in Lunacy in their annual report show that the number of insane persons has increased from 36,762 in 1849 to 128,787 on January 1st of this year, and recognise the significance of the increase of insanity by their suggestion for the accommodation of a further £5,000 for whom there is no room at present.

Fifty years of progress! H. A. Y.

October 1st, 1909.

THE POSITION IN LANCASHIRE.

WHEN dealing with the condition of any section of the working class the primary question always is, what are their wages? What is their cost of living? A Government enquiry was commenced in October 1906 into various matters dealing with the wages of, and the prices paid by, the working class in Burnley, and the result was published in the *Burnley Gazette* of February 12, 1908. Compared with London prices, which are taken as 100, the prices index number for Burnley for all commodities was 95. The index number of rent and prices combined in Burnley was 87 compared with 100 in London. Taking the London rate of wages as 100, the Burnley index number for the building trades was 85, in the engineering the same, in the printing it was 81, in the furnishing trades 81. In the cotton trades the earnings of the male and female weavers are the same—for a four loom weaver it is given as from 22s. to 28s. per week. This, it must be remembered, is when working full time and when work is of good quality. It is absurd to claim these figures as a fair indication of the average wage of the weavers. In the *Manchester Guardian* of July 29th, 1908, it was stated in a special article that "If we go back for 34 or 35 years it will be seen that rates of wages are no higher to-day in the textile trades (including operative cotton spinners and weavers and jute and linen operatives) than they were in 1874."

Another fact worthy of note was thus stated by Mr. Philip Snowden in a speech in the House of Commons on January 30th, 1908, "In the most important of our industries, particularly in the textile trades, the actual number of persons employed was less than it was at some former decade." The recent blue book "Public Health and Social Conditions," gives the number employed in the textile trades in 1851 and 1901 as 1,671,681 and 1,301,685 respectively. Every fundamental industry wherein machinery is well established shows the same feature; this in spite of the much larger amount of raw material handled.

The wages received by the male workers are thus really inadequate to rear a family upon a "civilised" standard. Often a whole family are to be found working in the mills—man and wife, and children full and half time. Pretty fairy tales are in circulation in "middle-class" circles about the earnings of these families when all are merrily working. One would imagine that the Income Tax assessors are missing a fertile source of revenue. But, alas, this state of financial felicity is temporary: the children marry and set up wigwams of their own, and pass through the old struggle and suffering.

Our readers know well the wage conditions in those trades where the wives of the workers work side by side with men. And for years the proportion of women to men workers has been steadily increasing. Many of the older mills are terrible from a hygienic point of view; the clouds of artificially formed vapour floating in the air do not add to their salubrity. And women toiling in such holes to within a few weeks of child-birth does not tend to produce a race of Spartans, even with the help of municipal milk depots, lady inspectors, and, let us say, also, state feeding of children! We cannot wonder that such districts are notorious for their enormous infantile death-rate. Baden Powell's boy scouts, in this part of the country at any rate, would not make ideal advertisements for a beef extract. Imagine the long ten hours of toil, every day producing miles of shoddy, adulterated cottons, every yard of which is a replica of every other yard; stuff which would be disdainfully refused, often, by our slum proletariat, and intended ultimately for a far distant market. And our women folk up North have been so perverted by spending half their living hours under such noxious and tense conditions that it is said many of them actually prefer it to the alternative of domestic drudgery. Perhaps under capitalism there is little to choose between the two desolations.

Lancashire is looked upon as a stronghold of trade unionism, and most of the large towns boast a trades council. These councils have not the least influence upon working-class conditions, and do not make the difference of a pipful of tobacco to the worker. They will send a resolution on the housing question to the local M.P., pass a vigorous one condemning the Russian atrocities, then the painters will propose resolutions condemning the park-keepers for painting railings to occupy their time during the winter months. It is all petty and ephemeral. "Practical" politics and so-called bread-and-butter questions tax the energies of the Lancashire trades councils.

Certainly the cotton operatives possess leaders!

Some of them are credited with the possession of "Socialistic" ideas, but

"Lo, there are many ways and many traps
And many guides, and which of them
is lord?
For verily Mahomet has the sword,
And he may have the truth—perhaps!"

So speaks the Oriental poet. Substitute for "Mahomet" "the capitalist" and the truth is out. Justly do we honour pioneers! We see so many obsequious camp-followers, so many fakirs negotiating and arbitrating and conciliating, so many "leaders" merely reflecting the opinions of orthodoxy and only too ready to become "revolutionaries" when it pays them, that it is not surprising that an amount of inert opposition the S.P.G.B. has to face. Our Shackletons and Gills are typical of the minor "leaders" in the textile world; as Merleith put it, "unimpressive English, who won't believe in the existence of aims that don't drop on the ground before your eyes, and squat and stare at you." Such men are really illiterate. Their education has been a continued accretion of ill-digested, ephemeral facts colliding with in everyday life. They are mediocre and pious, that is, they hold certain theological views by virtue of hereditary and environmental influences; they are temperance agitators because Bill Jones was a drunkard and ill-treated his family; they are Liberals because Chapel folks are Liberals and Churchmen are Conservatives. Their religion, politics and ethics have a common source in capitalist literature and capitalist journalism. The textile union leaders, then, are hopeless. As Mr. Pickwick said: "It is always best on those occasions to do what the mob do." "But suppose there are two mobs?" suggested Mr. Snodgrass. "Shout with the largest," replied Mr. Pickwick. Our textile leaders are Mr. Pickwick glorified. As we say, they know on which side their bread is buttered.

The only Socialism the bulk of the Lancashire people know of is that of the I.L.P. and S.D.P.—pseudo-Socialism. I.L.P. is, of course, a synonym for Labourism in Lancashire as in other parts of Great Britain. It is safe to assert that every Labour M.P. sent from a Lancashire constituency was elected by Liberal votes. At this moment the S.D.P. in Shackleton's constituency are threatening opposition because he is shaky in regard to some of their reforms. Not because he is not a Socialist, forsooth! No. If he would shout at capitalists as white sepulchres and advocate state maintenance he would be acceptable as Irving, and blessed by them. There is no question but the S.D.P. in Lancashire is swamped by the Labour Party; a reform party outflanked by another reform party, but one asking for fewer reforms. Simply that and nothing more. Politically the Lancashire artisan must be converted from Labourism; industrially he must be converted from the sick-and-burden-society, thrifty, provident kind of industrial organisation dubbed Trade Unionism.

JOHN A. DAWSON.

ISLINGTON BRANCH.

Lectures on Socialism will be delivered every Thursday evening at 8 p.m. commencing on November 4th, in the Co-operative Hall, 141, Seven Sisters Road, N. All are welcome. Questions and discussion invited.

* * *

A Social and Dance in aid of the SOCIALIST STANDARD "Guarantee Fund" will be held by the Islington Branch in Grovevale Hall, Grovevale Road, Elthorne Road, Upper Holloway on Saturday, November 6th, at 7.30 p.m. Tickets 6d. each.

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Earlsfield, Magdalene Road	7.30	P. G. Barker	J. H. Halls	T. W. Allen
Clapham Common	7.30	J. Kemble	P. G. Barker	H. Martin
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30	H. Martin	F. Leigh	H. Newman
Finsbury Park	3.30	H. King	J. Fitzgerald	F. C. Watts
Kensington Triangle	11.30	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	H. Joy
Marylebone, Earl of Essex	"	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins	A. Jacobs
Paddington, Prince of Wales	"	J. Halls	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald
Peckham Triangle	"	H. Newman	F. Joy	H. King
Tooting Broadway	11.30	A. Barker	H. Newman	H. Cooper
"	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins	H. Newman
Tottenham, West Green Cn.	11.30	F. Joy	J. Fitzgerald	F. Dawkins
"	7.30	A. W. Pearson	A. W. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	"	H. Martin	J. Fitzgerald	J. Kemble
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0	R. Kent	F. Stearn	P. G. Barker
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	J. Kemble
"	7.30	R. Fox	A. W. Pearson	T. W. Allen

MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Park, 8. Peckham, Bassano-st., 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Peckham, Collyer's-place, 8.30. Paddington, Victoria-rd., High-rd, Kilburn, 8.30. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 p.m.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Cn., 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Lewisham Mkt. 8.30. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Western Clarion" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "Weekly People" (New York)
- "Evening Call" (New York)
- "Gaelic American" (New York)
- "Western Wage-Earner" (Vancouver, B.C.)
- "The Flame," (Broken Hill).
- "Freedom," (London).
- "Anglo Russian," (London).
- "Voice of Labour," (Johannesburg).
- "The International," (London).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).

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THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

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To the Secretary,

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I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

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Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

The Official Organ of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

No. 63. VOL. 6.]

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

SOCIALISM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY. ARE THEY MORTAL ENEMIES?

THE perturbation of the Church at the spread of Socialism was reflected in the predominance of that topic among the subjects discussed at the Church Congress at Swansea; and the very full report of its proceedings in the *Standard* newspaper was interesting reading to Socialists in consequence. Early in the first session

A SIGNIFICANT NOTE

was struck, and the identity upon fundamentals of the two great sections of Christians in this country was indicated. A return deputation from the Welsh and English Free Church councils of Swansea came with words of welcome and expressions of gratitude, and, amid the bandying of compliments, the president of the Congress gave voice to their fundamental unity. As between the Liberal and Tory sections of the capitalist class in frankly political matters, so between the religious reflexes of the two sections, there is nothing vital at stake; and the attitude of the clergy of the Church of England toward Socialism differs in no essential from that of the clergy of Nonconformity.

At the Church Congress, as at other Christian conferences, the acuteness of the conflict between the mission of the workers and that of the churches showed itself as an instinctive feeling, expressed in different ways by all the speakers, that between Socialism and Christianity something fundamental is at stake. Frankness, however, is not characteristic of the prelate, and toward Socialism his antagonism is often

MASKED UNDER A VERBAL SYMPATHY

with everything, except, of course, that which is material. So soon, indeed, as the material interests of the workers are dealt with, or the need of a radical change in economic conditions is mentioned, and particularly whenever the indubitable necessity for deposing the class whose interests and aims require the maintenance of the present hellish conditions is expressed, all this Christian sympathy vanishes amid mutterings of "Materialism," "Atheism," and assertions of the utter unimportance of all material things as compared with things spiritual. If by their simulated sympathy the clergy can succeed in diverting a section of the working-class movement from its genuine material aims into a futile chasing of spiritual will-o'-the-wisps, they will deserve well of their capitalist paymasters. And that such aim underlies the so-called Socialistic leanings of many Christians is made plain by the hope they constantly profess, of ridding

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

of its materialism and of its hostility to the capitalist class; and this means ridding the Socialist movement of its Socialism.

Thus Dr. Ingram, Bishop of London, in a most conciliatory speech, nevertheless found it needful to "denounce many advocates of the

social movement for the unchristian setting of class against class in public speaking."

It was absurd to say that Capital and Labour were enemies," etc., etc. So also the Bishop of Truro, who opened, pleaded for "Socialism" while that he severely reproved materialism and revolution. Thus Christian "Socialism" is a term emptied of all meaning, and on this ground one can understand the Bishop's emphasised remark that "we might all quite safely be Socialists to-morrow if we and the rest of the world were sincerely Christians to-day." On the same lines doubtless the worthy Bishop might safely obey the scriptural injunction to-morrow to sell all he has and give it to the poor if the term "poor" could be so Christianised to-day as to mean a company that would pay him 20%.

There was, however, at least one speech at the Congress that rang true and was not a mere juggling of words. Dr. Shadwell clearly and vigorously emphasised the

IRRECONCILABLE ANTAGONISM

that exists between the Christian and the Socialist concepts of life, and with much of what he said we are in agreement. He denounced the loose and unjustifiable use of the word "Socialism" as a misuse of language and a source of confusion, and proceeded to call a spade a spade. He traced the term to an early definition and said:

It stood for a movement having a practical aim in view. It was not a theory, or a doctrine, or an idealistic sketch like the Utopias, but an essentially practical policy. Its object was to abolish poverty by doing away with the unequal distribution of wealth, to which all evils are attributed. These means were a reconstruction of the economic framework of society, whereby the working classes, who alone produce all wealth, should become its owners, and all private property, except that actually earned, should be abolished. . . . The only changes effected in the three-quarters of a century since elapsed are the demarcation of several varieties of Socialism, distinguished by differences of detail in the methods they would adopt, a more concise definition of the predominant policy, and the discovery of a so-called scientific basis for it. But they all come under this description—a movement for preventing the present unequal distribution of wealth and abolishing poverty by the economic reorganisation of society. This, and this alone is Socialism. The ultimate end is the universal happiness of mankind, the extinction of strife, and the establishment of brotherly love.

Dr. Shadwell further added, with quite unconscious irony, that "this would involve the disappearance of Kings, Lords and Priests—especially Bishops." One can quite understand that if the

"ESTABLISHMENT OF BROTHERLY LOVE"

has as a consequence the disappearance of his profession, it is not what he is looking for.

Speaking of the materialistic basis of Socialism Dr. Shadwell said:

In the first place Socialism deals solely with material or economic conditions—the distribution of wealth. All evil and unhappiness are traced to its mal-distribution, which divides mankind into rich and poor; and its redistribution is relied on to abolish them and establish the ideal "state." If any one thinks that view of life compatible with Christianity, then I am afraid he is not a person with whom I can discuss anything seriously, for however estimable he may be, words evidently have for him no particular meaning. . . . The purely materialistic view on which Socialism is based is absolutely opposed to Christian teaching and false to life.

It is, however, the Christian concept that is false to life in that it denies the primary importance of material things and is in perennial conflict with science. Moreover that this conflict with science is the condemnation of Christianity, is recognised by the clergy; as is shown by their strenuous but futile endeavours to reconcile religion with science. In this matter they attempt to

SIT BETWEEN TWO STOOLS

and cannot help but come to grief in consequence. This is illustrated in the discussion at the Church Congress, for Dr. Shadwell's stand on behalf of Christianity and free will as opposed to Socialism and economic determinism, was cut from beneath his feet by two of his confreres. The Archdeacon of Ely said:

Evidence has been brought under my notice which shows that the tone of morality in some Cambridgeshire villages is deplorably low, and that no external change would do more to remedy this than the building of sufficient cottage accommodation.

while the Bishop of London said:

As he wended his way to some slum church, he felt almost ashamed of the comfortable condition of his life as contrasted with the awful life of people in the slums. Therefore he could not agree with Dr. Shadwell that circumstances did not affect character, and that there were not children born damned into the world.

Now can these priests be ignorant of the fact that they have, by their evidence, knocked the bottom out of the Christian position? If children are born into the world damned for life, as they undoubtedly are, what remains of the doctrine of free will and the whole religious superstructure raised upon it? Admit the influence of economic conditions on character and conduct and the whole Christian scheme of reward and punishment, fall and redemption,

TUMBLE TO THE GROUND

as a logical consequence; for where is the reason for reward or punishment hereafter if man is what heredity and environment have made him?

Fundamentally, indeed, the supernatural is totally excluded from the whole of the known universe by the interminable warp and woof of

November 1st, 1909.

cause and effect. As Leibnitz said, "As knowledge takes a step forward God takes a step backward." The height of man's superstition is the depth of his ignorance. Socialism is science applied to society, and is the child of experience and light, just as Christianity is the offspring of ignorance and darkness. The one reflects the development and perfecting of the social forces under man's control, while the other reflects their imperfection, insufficiency, and lack of control by man. In his "Jewish Question," Karl Marx said: "For us religion is not the cause of social imperfection but its result. We explain the religious subjection of citizens by their social subjection. We do not pretend that they must shake off their religious chains in order to get rid of their social chains; we say, on the contrary, that they will get rid of their religious chains by disengaging themselves from their social chains."

"We do not transform questions of this world into questions of theology, we transform the questions of theology into questions of this world. History has

BEEN EXPLAINED BY RELIGION

long enough, let us explain religion by history. The question of the relations between political emancipation and religion become for us a question of the relations between political emancipation and human emancipation."

Thus does Dr. Shadwell's assertion that "Socialism is the mortal enemy of Christianity" obtain a deeper meaning. As the Bishop of Truro said: "Individualism is of the very essence of Christianity." And modern Christianity is at once the reflex and faithful ally of capitalism, doomed to disappear with the system that it supports.

As a political ally, indeed, the ruling class make use of it to the full. They value it as a working-class soporific, or, in other words, as a means of directing the energy of the worker away from his material aims to the pursuit of things utterly immaterial, in order that the security, property, and profits of the parasites may be undisturbed. At the very Congress in question the Rev. John Wakefield was moved to remark that:

The Church has in a large measure forfeited her right to condemn and denounce by her inexplicable cowardice and culpable silence when commons have been enclosed and peasant holdings have been swept away, and fetid slums have been made to yield swollen profits to ground landlords and property jobbers.

But in truth it is not that the Church has been passive in all this, but that it has been

AN ACTIVE AGENT

in the robbery and oppression of the toilers. It has long been the servile tool of the ruling class and the hypocritical enemy of those who produce, always ready to bless war of oppression and to oppose the resistance of the workers to oppression, or lull them into submission. To quote a pregnant sentence from Marx's criticism of Hegel, "*Religion is the opium of the people.*" The slave is enjoined to resist not evil, to despise earthly things, and to regard this world as a vale of tears, a toilsome preparation for a reward in eternal life. Socialism on the contrary is the recognition of the supreme importance of material things, while Christianity is their negation. Socialism is part of that scientific conception of life which excludes the supernatural by tracing all things to natural sources. It indicates the natural genesis and modern decay of religion, and exposes its rôle as an agent of class oppression.

That Christianity still retains its ancient Inquisitional characteristics wherever it is strong enough, may be seen from

THE RECENT MURDER OF

the educationist Ferrer by the clerical party in Spain. Its comparative harmlessness in most countries in these latter days can be attributed directly to its growing weakness and fissionary nature. It is the development of economic forces, and man's consequent growing control over nature and increasing knowledge of her working, that provides a wider and firmer basis for science, and leaves less room for superstition in the minds of working men. Indeed, science itself is the outcome of economic development. It is the torch which, as its flame is fed by material advance, sheds a light of increasing power, and chases superstition from an ever

greater circle. It therefore occasions no surprise that one of the sessions of the Church Congress was devoted to discussing that inevitable Christian conference subject: "Neglect of public worship; its causes and remedies." The great decline of religion among the workers has been attested in every field, but none of the clergy put his finger on the cause, as was, indeed, to be expected. And in point of remedies: revision and readaptation were the keynotes of the discussion. Revise and readapt how she may, however, the Church is

IRREVOCABLY DOOMED.

She persists and is supported to-day because she is useful as the handmaiden of class government, and because of the confusion and ignorance that remain owing to the disorder, parasitism, and oppression of capitalist society. As Marx says, religion will only finally disappear through Socialism, wherein alone the relations between men in society and their relations with nature will become reasonable, orderly, and completely intelligible, leaving no mysterious or obscure nook or cranny for superstition. Nevertheless the growth of the social forces of production within modern society, and the increasing knowledge of the workers of their true relations to each other and to nature, while they form the basis of Socialism materially and intellectually, will also loosen the chains of ghost worship and mysticism from their limbs, and lessen the power of religion as a political weapon in the hands of their masters. Thus one by one the weapons of the enemy will lose their effectiveness.

The acceptance of the gospel of Socialism, indeed, logically implies the rejection of supernatural religion, although this will not in all cases be at once clearly recognised, and cannot therefore be made a test question for Socialist recruits. But the bulk of the workers are in point of fact already indifferent to religion, and no harm to the cause of Socialism can possibly result from intellectual honesty and plain speaking on religion and the implications of Socialism. To adopt any other policy, indeed, is to play the confessional game of the enemy, as is done by such organisations as the Labour Party, those hangers-on and preachers for the Nonconformist section of the capitalist party. It is science, not religion, that is the theoretic basis of our policy, and to attempt to base the working-class movement on religion is to build upon the shifting sands. Argument from the basis of religion can only add to the confusion that impedes our path. It can lend no support or inspiration to the working class in its mission, while it provides the opportunity for the charlatan, the mystery monger, and the political trickster, and buttresses the powers of oppression and robbery. We are, therefore, thankful for the speech of one who frankly opposes us, and can testify to the profound truth of his dictum that "Socialism is the mortal enemy of religion."

F. C. W.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to share in the heat and burden of the workers' battle. Make a start by becoming a subscriber.

ISLINGTON BRANCH . . .
S.P.G.B.

LECTURES . . .

WILL BE DELIVERED

EVERY THURSDAY IN NOV.,
AT THECO-OPERATIVE HALL,
144, Seven Sisters Road, N.
(Entrance in Thane Villas.)

Nov. 4th—"Why the S.P.G.B. is Opposed to All Other Political Parties."
J. FITZGERALD
" 11th—"Religion v. Socialism." F. C. WATT
" 18th—"Why Socialists must be Materialists." H. J. NEWMAN
" 25th—"What is Required of a Socialist." J. H. HALIB

Discussion and opposition invited. Every one welcome. Admission free.

FACTORY CONDITIONS IN PITTSBURG.

A Manchester man, at present working as a foreman carpenter in Pittsburg, writing on August 21, sends home some particulars of the strike at the works of the Pressed Steel Car Company. He states:

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November 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

November 1st, 1909.

IN THE TRAIN.

BERMONDSY BUNKUM BAULKED.

Characters: PETER PIP—a Bermondsey voter.
VIATOR—a traveller.

Scene. Third-class "smoker" on the S.E.C. Railway. Peter Pip is seated in corner smoking his pipe. Enter Viator, who takes opposite seat.

VIATOR: Good evening. I suppose things are pretty lively just now down Bermondsey way?

PIP: Yes, the election's in full swing—all three candidates are hard at it.

VIATOR: Who do you think will win?

PIP: Oh! The Socialist, Dr. Salter. He's bound to get in. And my mates are for him, anyhow.

VIATOR: I thought the doctor called himself "Labour" candidate.

PIP: Well, it's all the same. Labour is Socialism, isn't it?

VIATOR: May I ask you some questions by way of trying to answer yours?

PIP: Certainly.

VIATOR: Well then, the doctor was chosen by your local branch of the I.L.P., wasn't he?

PIP: Yes.

VIATOR: The local branch had to get sanction from the National Council of the I.L.P.?

PIP: Why, yes, of course.

VIATOR: Of course you know that before the doctor could be run as a candidate for Parliament, the I.L.P. had to get sanction from the Labour Party executive, being affiliated to that body?

PIP: That's so.

VIATOR: The candidate must sign the Labour Party ticket and agree to obey the Party whip?

PIP: Yes.

VIATOR: One of the conditions to be agreed to is, I think, that the candidate must stand as "Labour" and not as "Socialist."

PIP: Quite true.

VIATOR: Doesn't it strike you as odd that a Socialist should not be allowed to run as such, and that if returned he must obey the Labour Party whip, nine times out of ten voting with the Liberals?

PIP: It never struck me like that. But all the same Salter's a real good Socialist. Why just look at his programme!

VIATOR: Ah, let me see it. (Pip hands him a copy of the election address.) Yes! I thought so. Same old story.

PIP: What's wrong now?

VIATOR: The first article in his confession of faith is the dear old "Right to Work Bill."

Hum!

PIP: But you surely don't condemn the "Right to Work Bill?"

VIATOR: No need to: it condemns itself! What about the clause empowering a municipality to find work for the unemployed? If the unemployed are not satisfied with the kind of work allotted them, or the rate of pay, and refuse to do the work, the municipal authorities, who are representatives of the master class, have power given them to haul the offending workers before a magistrate. That means six months gaol! Fancy a Socialist voting for such a measure!

PIP: But I say—

VIATOR: Next item. General Eight-Hours Day. Well suppose you get it—and mind you, you have got to get it from the masters; many of them are in favour of it and would vote for it. That fact alone ought to make you suspicious of it. "Times Danos et dona ferentes." That's French—or Figian—you know, for "When the masters send you a gift horse, look in the beggar's mouth."

PIP: (Rather uneasily, feeling he is being "got at") Well but—

VIATOR: But me no buts! Can the master class—or employers as you call them—can they or can they not speed you up in the factory to the highest possible pitch, 8 hours day or no 8 hours day? Aren't they doing it now? If you are going to cross the road to vote, for something that's to do you good!

PIP: I think you will have a job to get round the next item.

VIATOR: Then I'll go under it. Minimum wage! Minimum fiddlesticks! Do you suppose the

labour market is a thing to be played with so?

There was a "maximum wage" law as the result of the dearth of labour after the plague in the middle ages—a law strengthened by far more severe penalties than any a capitalist government is likely to attach to a mere "minimum wage" enactment in these days of "freedom of contract"—the futility of the attempt to enforce this law should be a lesson for all time. When labour was scarce the labourer was master of the situation, in spite of the Statute of Labourers which the employers of labour themselves caused to be enacted, in their anxiety to obtain labour power cheaply, but which they were compelled to evade. Now

that labour power is so terribly redundant the masters will remain masters of the situation, minimum wage laws notwithstanding, for starvation will compel evasion on the one hand, and profit-hunger on the other. But if such a law can have any effect at all in preventing sweating, there is one counterbalancing factor that will rob it of all benefit to the working class. When any one talks to you about minimum wages, shorter hours, and so on, don't forget that grim spectre at the worker's elbow—his constant competitor—machinery. Every restriction placed upon the exploitation of labour power, makes for the advantage of machinery; every lifting of the price of labour-power handicaps it against machinery. So far then as a minimum wage law can affect the situation it can only result in the extended use of machinery and the factory system, and the further displacement of workers.

PIP: That seems to make the struggle hopeless. (Removes his hat, wipes his brow, and looks out of the carriage window.)

VIATOR: It makes Socialism the only hope, at all events. (Pointing) That's a very nice piece of land over there, isn't it? Look well nationalised wouldn't it? For sale. Apply Law, Jaw, Wynnstun & Co." I see your worthy doctor has "nationalization of land" on his card. In Japan they have nationalization of land; in Russia the mines are national; in Germany the railways are national property. Yet the proletariat (that's you and me, you know) who work all those services are not a whit better off—worse off in some cases. German and Belgian State railway workers for example.

PIP: That's true. (Removes his hat, wipes his brow, and looks out of the carriage window.)

VIATOR: Then: "Municipalisation of means of transit, lighting, water, milk, electricity and power." Let's see. In Bermondsey you have all these things run either by the County Council or the Borough Council. Milk, you say,—better milk. Yes, quite so, but a doubtful advantage if you're a milkman out of a job. Can't you see, my dear fellow, that you can nationalise and municipalise 'till you're black in the face, but so long as you leave the masters in full possession of the political power, they will take good care to keep top-dog?

PIP: Surely you will support the next item: "Votes for all men and women of adult age"?

VIATOR: The principle's all right, but as a vote catcher it's all wrong. Besides, aren't there enough votes now to get Socialism if they were used properly? What we want to do is to educate the present working-class vote—which greatly preponderates—as to the meaning of Socialism, not to bother about extensions of the franchise, and above all, not to use such issues, however much we may agree with them in principle, as bait to catch the votes of those who are opposed to us on the question of Socialism.

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you are, this will tell you all about it. Read this (hands him a Manifesto). Full details—how to cure poverty and when you're tired of messing about with quacks and their nostrums, take your courage in both hands and try "the knife." Here's my station. Good night! (He gets out. Pip is left thinking.)

"FRUIT."

WASTE PAPER AND OLD TINS.

Capitalism, with all its attendant evils of poverty and distress, is doomed. The dawn of the Co-operative Commonwealth is even now at hand: be it yours to vote and work to hasten the noon tide of the happier day it promises for us all. . . . I have, as you know, always stood as a Socialist, in favour of a definite programme and policy on Socialist lines, because I am convinced that by the realisation of Socialism alone can the many injustices and inequalities of social and industrial

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions for THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 10, Sandgate Street, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

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The Socialist Standard,

MONDAY, NOV. 1, 1909.

THE OUTLOOK.**The Liberal Argument.**

The present political situation, with the possibility of a General Election looming in the foreground, cannot fail to be of exceptional interest, and in the circumstances may prove to be fraught with importance to the working class. The Liberal Party is diligently digging its own grave by using arguments against landowners that are every bit as applicable to the capitalists, while the Labour Party have all they can manage to demonstrate to the plain man the reason for their separate existence.

In the event of an early General Election brought about by the Lords rejecting the Finance Bill, this must be the immediate subject of the appeal to the country. To this will be added, according to the apostles of the "Newest Liberalism," the abolition of the Lords' veto. The Liberals in such a case are confident of success, apparently sure that the enthusiasm for the Budget exists in sufficient force and depth to carry with it the greater constitutional question. But, without the Lords, what will the Liberal Party do for an excuse for their own procrastination in the matter of reform? Up to now the standing argument has been that the Lords block the way. It would indeed be interesting to see the sincerity of the Liberals tested by them having, beyond possibility of cloaking, that free hand in legislative matters they have hitherto denied. To conduct their present campaign the George-cum-Churchill combination has been arguing against the landed interest that the land, rendered useful and valuable by social occupation, should not be exclusively enjoyed by a class of monopolists, but should contribute to the upkeep of the State. These great Parliamentary debaters, if they are as logical as debaters should be, must know that they are forging a double-edged weapon which must inevitably be turned against them when the working class, to whom the appeal is particularly directed, recognise that capital likewise owes its quality as a means of production to social activities, and is no less monopolised than the land itself.

The income derived from an investment in industrial stock is no more defensible on those lines than is the income from an investment in land.

Nor will it serve to quote the privileges attaching to land ownership; the essential nature to society of access to the land; nor the flimsy nature of the right by which land is held. From the working-class point of view, exactly the same applies to that preponderating category of wealth, the instruments of production. Its possessors and monopolists are privileged to receive the bulk of the wealth accruing from its use: it is absolutely essential to the existence of modern society, while the right of the capitalist is really at one with that of the landholder. Neither produced his property, while with the capitalist the whole process is dependent upon the skill

and the service of the workers. More than that, the very evolution of both of the actual instruments and of the processes in which, and by which, they are employed, has been a social one, based upon the experience of the workers in their use. The capitalist, as such, has long ceased to perform any useful or necessary functions either in direction or organisation in industry. He is approaching, where he has not already reached, the position of the financial manipulator of the results of the wealth producers' efforts. To speculate with wealth produces nothing. The capitalist class generally is equally as parasitic to-day as its landlord section, and to draw a distinction between them from a test of social utility would be as impossible as it would be destructive to both.

The Tory Opposition.

On the other hand it must be recognised that the opposition they have to face is lamentably weak. The Tory Party is not only deficient in men of outstanding ability, so far, of course, as parliamentary leadership is concerned, but even on the question of Tariff Reform—to which, apparently, they have pinned their faith—there seems an extraordinary indefiniteness as to just what this central point of their creed means, with the result that there is nothing for the rank and file to enthuse over.

The Labour Party.

The Labour Party and the position it can take up, may furnish some interesting speculations. At present they are tumbling over one another to support the Liberal Budget—which renders their identity with the Liberals too obvious to justify the Trade Unions paying for their separate existence: in which connection it is well to remember that Trade Union contributions to Labour Party funds must now be very largely voluntary. The more they become "advanced" to keep their identity clear, the farther they get from that Liberal support which, in no small measure, is responsible for their presence in the House.

Electoral Reform.

If the Constitutional question is raised in an appeal to the country, the Premier has practically promised that the question of the Franchise will be raised, especially as it affects women, and this would probably be included. One of the few things for which we may give credit to the Government is the way in which its head opposed the hysterical demands of women for the enfranchisement of the propertied ones among them. In that case we may see a bid for popularity by the Liberals with a democratised Suffrage.

The Dark Horse.

The uncertain and unsettling element in the situation is the President of the Local Government Board. Three years ago he was the populariser of the Government, the testimony to the democratic ideals that actuate "the Great Liberal Party." Not many months ago an important London Liberal paper was urging that John Burns should be used more on the party stump—if the term may be allowed—because he more than any other man in the Liberal ranks could get to the heart of the people. Now John Burns is dumb. The national appeals, the propagandist speeches, are left to Mr. Lloyd George or Mr. Winston Churchill, with an occasional endorsement in the leader. This is unlike the Burns we know. When the Liberal Party is attacking the "hereditary principle" why is Mr. Burns silent, when the abolition of that principle found a place in his election programme in 1906? When the Liberal Government is "penalising property" with the "predatory Socialism" of its Budget (according to the Tory Press) why is the "Socialist" member of the Cabinet, which we are assured by the Liberal Press is perfectly united, not lending his most powerful aid?

The Socialist Attitude.

We are not in a position perhaps at this stage to prophecy, but Mr. Burns is probably contemplating some means of gaining the public ear and the public attention with something of wider importance and interest than Town Planning Bills.

For the Socialist Party, and the working class for whose interest it stands, the position is clear. Convinced that no gerrymandering of the franchise or the Constitution, no readjustment of

fiscal burdens, no amount of social or political or fiscal reform, from wheresoever it emanates, can touch the economic position of the workers, while they are bound by the conditions of the labour market and excluded from ownership in and control over the machinery they operate and the wealth they produce: they will keep steadily plugging on in the heavy preliminary work of converting their fellows to the importance of the bread-and-butter question and the insignificance of anything else their masters may wish to bring before their notice. To the capture of the political machinery for the purpose of establishing Socialism the Socialist can only work. When he works for anything else he ceases to be a Socialist and is lost in the dust of the political contest for party, place, and power.

PARTY NOTES.

Two Party candidates are contesting local elections in Burnley and three in Tooting, and full advantage is being taken of the special facilities thus offered for propaganda.

Elsewhere our comrades are in evidence. In Islington, where the "Social-Democratic" and the "Progressive-Labour" wings of the Liberal Party are opposing each other, our branch is running a special mission exposing both and urging the workers to abstain from voting either for those who support capitalism because it pays them or for those who support it in order to "reform" it.

Our Islington comrades, thinking of the dark months now upon us, when necessarily the sale of the SOCIALIST STANDARD is reduced and our finances correspondingly strained, are organising a Social and Dance in aid of the Party Organ Guarantee Fund (see Islington Branch Report, p. 22), while a Party Social to the same end is mooted. Take time by the forelock, comrades, and remember the appearance of the "S.S." must be assured.

A debate between T. A. Jackson, representing the I.L.P., and Comrade J. Fitzgerald, S.P.G.B., has been held at Tooting. We expect to report more fully in our December issue. As we go to press a debate is being arranged between Comrade F. E. Dawkins and "Clarion Vanner" Mr. Muir Watson, the consent of the Stoke Newington I.L.P. being required.

Following up the public debate in which the local champion of the I.L.P. got so severely handled, our East Ham comrades have carried through a vigorous and successful week's mission completely putting to rout the followers of the aforesaid champion.

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November 1st, 1909.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Government is dominated by the Nonconformist conscience. Q.E.D.

Dreadnaughts for the working 'classes.'

However, my Budget Leaguer dealt with the Dreadnaught question later. I will deal with it here. Dreadnaughts were required for the protection of property. It was the Dukes of Portlands who owned most of the property, yet it was the Dukes of Portlands who were howling most about the burden of taxation. (The cheers here were heartrending. Like the jokes of Jack Point, that were "always much admired," it is always good business to pillory the House of Lords that Liberal Governments have been largely instrumental in building up.)

Unfortunately for the gods, however, they are at least a baker's dozen of years too late—which hardly seems to connote godly prescience. But that by the way. Quite that number of years ago I left off being maddened by the packet of dry bones labelled argument that the Liberal apologist, with much introductory loquacity, was for ever solemnly unwrapping and presenting to me and my class to allay our doubts of the divine inspiration of the Liberal policy, and to ensure our continued support of the Liberal Party.

The Budget League gentlemen are playing the old game. They have hardly a new trick in their bag. Their lack of originality is amazing. On any other stage they would be bood off incontinently. Only on the political stage are they still able to secure applause—which is even more amazing than the effrontery of their frowsy and threadbare performance.

The effrontery of Liberal pretension.

When I discovered the emptiness of their precious show, I used to get mad. I thought it an unpardonable thing that a piteous appeal for bread should be answered with a stone—wrapped up in a baker's bag. It seemed an intolerable thing that they who shot the workers down in protection of capitalist interests should come to us with protestations of friendship. It was an utterly unholly thing that they who asked for our support on the ground that they were "giving" us certain ameliorative reforms were in point of fact only "giving" something out of fear and then only giving that which they knew quite well beforehand would not have the beneficial effect represented. I was very young then, and these things angered me. If the gods wanted to demonstrate the truth of the aphorism they should have destroyed me then, for verily I was mad, or at any rate, jumping wild. They have lost their chance to-day. These things merely make me sleepy, and arouse a certain mild wonderment at the credulity of the people unfortunately of my own class, who are still prepared to swallow the gilded pill.

I'm afraid I've mixed my metaphors somewhat. But the metaphors are not nearly so mixed as the honest Budget Leaguer. There is probably a large number of that sort about—honest, but oh, so stupid. There is certainly another number not so stupid, but very hard-working, let us say. You will find the latter on the platform doing the prestidigitator business. The former are generally in the audience, with their mouths open.

Budget League Blarney.

The B. L. is nobly shocked. At any rate we are better off than we were. Why, in Bolton in the "hungry forties" nine people died of starvation in a day. Good old "hungry forties." The perennial stand-by of the political bankrupt. Why did nine people die of starvation? Vast fortunes were being piled up in those "hungry forties"—by whom? By Liberal manufacturers largely; the same lot (snow-white and God-fearing progenitors of the Liberals of to-day) who fought so splendidly for the Free Trade that would give the starving people food and still keep wages low. The people would have to have food or the manufacturers would soon be without the labour required for profit making. It was a case of increased (relative) wages and consequent reduction of profits, or cheaper food. Free Trade meant cheaper food but a reduction in the profits of the land-owning class. The latter fought the Free Traders desperately on the issue. But the Free Traders were strongest and won. So Virtue triumphed and the people got food (of a kind) and the manufacturers profits.

That's the reason people died of starvation in Bolton. But we have advanced enormously since then, says the B. L. We have. The wealth

of the country has increased enormously—stupendously. The wealth of the working class has also increased—to the point where 21 people die of starvation in London (1905). And just to show how much we are still improving, 46 die of starvation in 1907. And in 1909 according to the B.L., a benevolent Liberal Government has concentrated its whole soul upon Social Reforms (and Dreadnaughts) designed to alleviate a little of the distress amongst those who have produced all the wealth and can't get it.

Progress? I should just think it is progress. If it isn't progress what is it?

The Liberal way of Salvation.

However, let us have a sympathetic look at the "Social Reforms" of our friend the B. L. He had only just time to mention them in passing—with one exception. There were quite a lot—unemployment insurance, labour exchanges, national development schemes, provision against invalidity, sickness, widow and orphan wants, and old age pensions. In point of fact, excepting old age pensions, most of these things are in the air, with a few thousand other projects of the Liberal Party. Assuming they came to earth, not one of them would touch more than a ravaged thread of the fringe of the condition of the people. Unemployment insurance is at best a device to save some of the poor rate. Labour exchanges are transparent mockeries. National development schemes are ambiguities that, to the extent to which they provide useful work for some unemployed, displace employed elsewhere. Provision against invalidity and the rest are in the category of unemployment insurance. Frauds, every one—and the Liberal Party know it. They dare not deal with unemployment; dare not deal with the insecurity of working-class existence; dare not interfere with the liberty of capitalism to do what it likes with its own; dare not touch the property basis upon which the whole social superstructure is erected and from which all the evil flows. Even if they dared they could not. The working class alone can do that—when understanding comes. And until the wealth producers themselves own their product by virtue of the ownership of the machinery of production, which they manipulate to-day, but do not possess, all the "good intentions" in the world will do no more than pave the floor of the red hell of misery and insecurity and want that the worker must tread every age-long day of life.

Social Reform Fore-damned.

The Liberal Party no more than any other crowd of capital's political hucksters, will deal with the ownership of the means of living. Challenge them individually and severally. Fix them to a yea or nay (they will shuffle and hedge and throw off clouds of words, but fix them) and the answer will be always and ever nay. Yet while the workers do not own the means of living no change can effect their general condition; all changes are no more than good or bad hearted fooling. Social Reforms so-called are mere leather and prunella—when they are not deliberately administered antidotes to Socialism. Socialism is the thing that is feared. Socialism must be kept at bay at all hazards. And the only known medium is Social Reform—the reform, that is, that will give the shadow of amelioration without the substance; something that will palliate discontent; something that will throw a barrier across the path down which relentless Revolution comes striding. Balfour, Asquith, Churchill, Smith, from either side and from both sides comes the fiat "Social Reform is the antidote to Socialism." That in itself should be all the evidence required against Social Reform. The fugitives of Capitalism administer Social Reform in the interests of the Capitalism that connotes wage slavery. Social Reform is fore-damned.

The Budget League's Ewe Lamb.

However, I'm forgetting the B. L. He had not time to talk of the others because in fact he hadn't the others to talk about. But he had Old Age Pensions—"the scheme for making the last years of the worker and the poor brighter and by which the brand of pauperism shall be swept away." The dear man, only the more dear because he saved me the trouble of doing what better writers in the SOCIALIST STANDARD have done better than I can do—riddle its ridiculously inflated importance. For my B. L. set

himself presently to defend the Liberal Party against the charge of extravagance and unbusiness-like method, urged by Tory job-hunters. And in doing it the B. L. cuts his own throat in a ghastly way.

This old age pension scheme, quoth he, is not all expenditure—not by any means. Why, at the present time it costs 4s. 1d. per head per week for the keep of inmates of the union and 5s. 1d. per head for administration, or twice as much as the maximum old age pension. Extravagance? Why, Mr. Lloyd George expected to save £1,600,000 per annum on the deal in this particular connection!

So there you have it. Instead of the people going into the workhouse to cost 10s., they will stay outside and cost only 5s.! Is that not a veritable triumph of statesmanship? Is it not also a desperate swindle—a typical Liberal fraud?

I can only add to that at the risk of spoiling it: let it rest so. And presently we may return to our B. L., perhaps after many days, to see how much more truth has managed to wind up from the depths of his well. Meanwhile I cast him as bread upon the waters. And I hope for my fellows of the working class there will be enough in the foregoing to cause them to at least rub their eyes and turn out the disused thinking cap.

JAMES ALEXANDER.

ISLINGTON BRANCH REPORT.

THE REV. A. J. WALDRON WRIGGLES OUT OF A DEBATE.

Of all the districts of London, we suppose there are few more cursed with the presence of bogus political organisations than Islington. That being so the task of our comrades has been a hard one; but in spite of that fact we are making good progress, and in the near future our membership should be considerably augmented.

During the season which is now drawing rapidly to a close, very few Sundays have seen us absent from our station in Finsbury Park, where principally through the valiant efforts of our comrades Anderson and Fitzgerald good meetings have been held, sales of the SOCIALIST STANDARD and other literature being phenomenal.

Early in the year we had a debate with Mr. J. S. H. Taylor of the Anti-Socialist Union. Anderson held the fort, and, needless to say, did not have much difficulty in demolishing the arguments of his opponent, who, much to the amusement of the audience, occupied a deal of time in enquiring of the chairman if his time was nearly up.

Owing, we suppose, to the lamentable display given by Mr. Taylor, another member of the Anti-Socialist Union—Mr. A. F. Collins—expressed his desire to "wipe the floor" with Anderson. We assented, and after some negotiations, a date and subject were agreed upon. Much to our surprise, however, we received at the last moment a card from our opponent, saying that in consequence of some misunderstanding with his "chief," he was forced to break his appointment as he had to speak at Parliament Hill. He was determined, however, that the debate should come off, "even if I have to resign" (yes, I don't think). Needless to say we have heard nothing since—a nice way of wrangling out of an awkward situation.

We have been in correspondence with that astute defender of the Gospel, the Rev. A. J. Waldron, Vicar of Brixton. On the 7th March last the "reverend" gentleman was lecturing at Stanley Hall, Tufnell Park, N., and in the course of his remarks he had the temerity to assert that "the condition of the people would be infinitely worse under Socialism, and only by conforming to the teaching of the Nazarene will any improvement of their social condition be attained;" and further that he was prepared to maintain that position in public debate. The effect of such a statement upon the Socialist is, of course, electrical. One of our members who was present accepted the challenge on behalf of the Party. Since then we have been vainly trying to bring the beggar up to the scratch. His first

letter, dated 27th March, stated that if we could give him choice of dates after Easter he would be glad to debate. We replied that we would meet him anywhere at any time. We waited about two months for reply, then threatened him with the publication of the correspondence before, on June 25th, "his reverence" replied regretting the delay, and asking for the name of our representative. This we duly forwarded but have quite failed, in spite of repeated applications, to obtain any further communication from Mr. Waldron.

If this should meet the eye of this champion of God we may inform him that in spite of his M.A. degree, and any other assistance, earthly or unearthly, he may obtain, we are prepared at any time to put up against him a workman, who, taking his stand upon the impregnable rock of Socialist philosophy, will have no difficulty in riddling the case for Christianity, of whatever brand, as being of any use whatever to the working class.

As will be seen in another column, we are running a series of Thursday propaganda meetings at the Co-operative Hall, 144, Seven Sisters Road, N., commencing Thursday, 4th November. They promise to be particularly instructive and we extend hearty welcome to all workers in the neighbourhood to attend.

A Social and Dance will be held on Saturday, 6th November, at Grovedale Hall, Upper Holloway, N., in aid of the "SOCIALIST STANDARD Guarantee Fund." We trust to comrades and friends to make it a success financially by purchasing tickets, and thereby assisting in our efforts to make the STANDARD that powerful weapon which shall materially help us in striking at the ramparts of capitalism.

EDWIN F. JOAD,
Branch Secretary.

LORDS AND COMMONS. OR TWEEDLEDUM AND TWEEDLEDEE.

We give below a letter which appeared in the "Morning Leader" for Sept. 24th.

"THE COMMONS' SUPREMACY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MORNING LEADER."

Sir,—It may cause great surprise to your correspondent, Mr. Rees, if I suggest that the strenuous struggle between the "Commons" and the "Lords" is nothing but a sham encounter.

But it is obvious that there is an underlying motive in concentrating the attention of the workers upon the landlords, whilst the class that own the machinery of production, i.e., workshops, factories, mines, and railways, etc. (and who are by these means able to extract sufficient wealth from the proceeds of labour to pay the landlords and incidentally to recoup themselves) are left severely alone. Why is this?—Yours, etc.,

GEORGE E. QUIRK.
Eastbourne, 30 Sept.

Those nasty fellows, the members of that perfectly impossible gang, the S.P.G.B., are famed for having the last word, so our comrade weighed in with the letter we print below.

"THE COMMONS' SUPREMACY."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MORNING LEADER."

Sir,—If Mr. Geo. E. Quirk will read "Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman's Speech at the Albert Hall in 1906;" "Life and Labour of the People," Vol. II., by Chas. Booth; Mr. Chiozza Money's "Riches and Poverty," pp. 28 and 42; Rowntree's "Poverty;" R. Sherard's "White Slaves of England," he will find therein plenty of data in support of my contention that "the condition of the workers is, relatively to the vast increase of wealth, gradually getting worse." As regards his "improvements"

(1) Rate of wages. I make him present of that—but what about the purchasing power of those wages? Rent, for example?

(2) Hours of employment. Has your correspondent ever heard of "speeding up," with its attendant evils? And for how long a period does employment last? (This also applies to No. 1.)

(3) If the fact that "in London alone 30 per cent. of the workers are living on or below the poverty line, with earnings not exceeding £1 1s. a week per family" ("Life and Labour of the People," Booth, Vol. II., pp. 20-21), points to an improvement in "general average of comfort and prosperity, measured by any standard that one can adopt," then it is quite clear that your correspondent is more easily satisfied than

Yours faithfully, "KARL MARX II."
Putney, Oct. 2.

belief. ["Suspicion run mad" would seem to be contagious!]

It is obvious to a workman who thinks about the matter at all, that both the "great political parties" are merely traders in the spoils of office. They are out in their own interests, and not in the interests of the working class. If it were otherwise how comes it that after 50 years of Liberal and Tory rule, with Factory Acts, Compensation Acts, etc., all passed for the benefit of the workers, the condition of those workers is, relatively to the vast increase of wealth, gradually getting worse?

[Every year unemployment alone numbers its victims by hundreds of thousands. This question of unemployment no "statesman" of either party dare tackle seriously. If he were to do so down would come the whole house about his ears; production would be at an end and he—horrible thought—would lose his job! In fact—to quote William Morris—"The business of a statesman is to balance the greed and fears of the proprietary class against the necessities of the working class. This is a sorry business, and leads to all kinds of trickery and evasion; so that it is more than doubtful whether a statesman can be a moderately honest man."]

Yours faithfully, "KARL MARX II."
Putney, 25th Sept.

Our comrade's reply to the "Morning Leader's" criticism resulted in the following curious concoction being furnished by a reader from Eastbourne.

THE COMMONS' SUPREMACY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "MORNING LEADER."

Your correspondent who says that, in spite of many ameliorative Acts of Parliament, "the condition of the workers is, relatively to the vast increase of wealth, gradually getting worse," omits to furnish any data. I submit that in the last 50 years there has been a distinct improvement in every respect—rate of wages, hours of employment, conditions of work, and general average of comfort and prosperity, measured by any standard that one can adopt.

It may or may not be true that, compared with certain sections of the community, the workers have not made the same relative increase in wealth; but is it not preferable to be absolutely better off rather than relatively worse off? Percentages can be made to prove anything, as Tariff "Reform" arithmetic has often shown.

Yours, etc., GEORGE E. QUIRK.
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Yours faithfully, "KARL MARX II."
Putney, 25th Sept.

* * *

Social conditions to-day compel men, be they capitalists or workers, to sink much of their better qualities or sink themselves. In the existing struggle for life some Biblical injunctions are daily, aye, hourly, broken. "Thou shalt not kill," "thou shalt not steal," are only two. The Right Rev. Doctor probably never heard of "beg pardon"—"prayed" could they convince the world that Christianity was the only answer to the problems pressing for solution—

If Christianity is true, then there's no need of the vote for Labour or Socialism. Are we not told to "ask and it shall be given," etc.? But Mr. Henderson does not want to rely too much on prayer. £200 a year only comes through people voting certain persons into Parliament.

* * *

The eighth conference of the Municipal Tramways Association was held in London on Sept. 22nd. A certain Councillor A. W. Chapman of Manchester, read a paper setting forth the advantages of medical examination of tramway employees. The system was to affect the employers, the employees, and the ratepayers, beneficially. Let us see the advantages to the municipal employees under this system of medical examination, as they are the only class whose interests concern us.

(1) The medical examination itself is only a means of procuring a physically better wage-slave, to endure the "speeding up" due to the electrification of the urban tramway systems to day. The position of the worker unable to pass the medical test was not (according to my report) dealt with.

The speaker gave the chief reason when he cited a number of cases that had arisen under the Workmen's Compensation Act which would have been avoided had a proper system of medical examination been in existence earlier, because, explained another speaker hailing from Manchester, "If an accident happened to an employee they had to pay half his wages whilst he was off work."

* * *

It will be recognised by even the tyro in Socialist thought that profit-making is an anti-Socialist process, therefore it should be clear that the ratepayers' interests and those of the employers (i.e., the exploiting interests of the stockholders) are not the interests of the tramway employees, for Councillor Chapman stated that "The ratepayers expected the undertakings to be run on business lines and make a profit in relief of the rates," which latter we have often shown the workers do not pay.

* * *

The Archbishop of Westminster speaking before the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, in Manchester, on Sept. 19th, deplored "the terrible cleavage between class and class which unhappily existed in this country."

"Here in England we were face to face with terrible social difficulties," Dr. Bourne declared, and in order that the people should not be carried away by their sympathies into the adoption of Socialist principles, he advised the teaching of the Catholic Church as "a real bulwark against those theories which are undoubtedly

gaining ground in this country."

* * *

Dr. Bourne appears to recognise the significance of the class cleavage in this country—a distinction the I.L.P. does not share.

* * *

The appeal to the working men and women to remain in or join the Catholic (or any other) Church on account of charitable doles accruing from membership of such church will lose its force to a greater degree as economic evolution proceeds. It seems to me that the accumulation of capital into fewer hands will eliminate even those people whose business is "charity." Finding the source from whence they formerly received assistance (?) dried up, people will look more to themselves to achieve a change in their economic conditions. It may be, however, that our Archbishop's appeal is really to the exploiters not to throw his particular brand of religion overboard because it may yet prove useful.

* * *

"No social conditions, no legislation, could ever affect the Commandments of God."—Arch-

An official report just issued as to the advance of the use of machinery in mines is giving labour organisers much food for thought. It shows that last year over 123,000,000 tons of bituminous coal, which is almost thirty-eight per cent. of the total output [American], were mined by machinery. Within five years the number of machines in use has doubled, and as a result the number of work days of American miners in the bituminous fields are steadily decreasing.

Investigations also show that Mr. J. P. Pierpont Morgan is making good his threat to demolish every form of labour union in the United States Steel Corporation. Not only are the iron, steel, and tinplate workers being forced to accept open shop terms, but the seamen on the lakes and miscellaneous trades connected with the Trust are being given to understand that union men are not wanted. Union officials declare that the Trust is offering big wages and long contracts to the most skilled workmen to desert their unions, in order to get a better grip on the men's organization, but very few of the offers have been accepted.

The Labour organisers declare that these tactics so far are not succeeding with the men, and before long the iron, steel, and tinplate workers will form a close federation to fight the Trust on more effective lines. The situation in some of the iron and steel districts thus threatens to take a more serious turn. It is declared by the Union men that the Trust has formulated a scale providing for a reduction in wages ranging from 2 per cent. to 18 per cent.

The Trust has one great advantage, in that there are sufficient tinplate plants in the country to supply all demands with six months' operation. The non-union mills, therefore, hold the key to the situation, for they are able to partially meet the market's demands, and there is no actual deadlock in the trade. It is this which has led the men to accept for the present the terms offered by the Pressed Steel Car Company, at M'Kee's Rocks, although their demands as to an advance in wages have not been agreed to.

Daily News, 20.9.09.

And yet Mr. S. Gompers, President of the A. F. of L., says there is no unemployed problem in America.

THE WASTE OF LIFE.

That twelve thousand written years should have elapsed, and the human race—able to reason and to think, and easily capable of combination in immense armies for its own destruction—should still live from hand to mouth, like cattle and sheep, like the animals of the field and the birds of the woods; that there should not even be roofs to cover the children born, unless those children labour and expend their time to pay for them; that there should not be clothes, unless, again, time and labour are expended to procure them; that there should not be even food for the human race, except they labour as their fathers did twelve thousand years ago; that even water should scarce be accessible to them, unless paid for by labour!

In twelve thousand written years the world has not yet built itself a House, nor filled a granary, nor organised itself for its own comfort. It is so marvellous I cannot express the wonder with which it fills me. And more wonderful still if that could be, there are people so infatuated, or, rather, so limited of view, that they glory in this state of things, declaring that work is the main object of man's existence—work for subsistence—and glorying in their wasted time.—RICHARD JEFFRIES.

Recently, according to the "Daily News," a firm in Wormwood Street advertised for two warehousemen. On the following morning the street was blockaded by a crowd of 3,000 men, all applying for the vacant jobs!

November 1st, 1909.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	F. Joy	A. Barker	H. Martin
" Magdalene Road	7.30	H. Newman	J. Fitzgerald	J. Halls
Earlsfield, Magdalene Road	7.30	H. Cooper	F. Joy	J. Kemble
Clapham Common	3.30	H. Newman	H. Joy	H. Newman
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30	A. Jacobs	H. King	J. Kennett
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	F. Dawkins	J. Fitzgerald
Kennington Triangle	11.30	H. Martin	H. Newman	A. Anderson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	"	F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	F. Joy
Paddington, Prince of Wales	"	F. C. Watts	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins
Peckham Triangle	7.30	J. Kemble	H. Martin	H. Newman
Tooting Broadway	11.30	A. Barker	H. Cooper	H. Cooper
"	7.30	F. Joy	J. H. Halls	F. C. Watts
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	11.30	T. W. Allen	J. Fitzgerald	R. Kent
" Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30	A. Anderson	H. Martin	A. Anderson
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0	H. Martin	A. Barker	P. G. Barker
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	R. Fox	F. W. Stearn	R. Kent
"	7.30	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	J. Fitzgerald
				H. Martin

MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's square, Upton Park, 8. Peckham, Bassano-st., 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Peckham, Collyer's-place,

8.30. Paddington, Victoria-nd., High-nd., Kilburn, 8.30. Plaistow, Greengate, 8 p.m.

THURSDAYS.—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.0. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Islington, Highbury, Cnr., 8.30.

Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30. Lewisham Mkt. 8.30. Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

Fleet Street the crowd was again dispersed.
Pretty long odds, Mr. Burns, 1,500 to 1! We suppose the crowd had all lost their jobs through drink, or were too lazy to work, eh? Next please.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

HEAD OFFICE:

10, SANDLAND STREET, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Secretary, 3, Mathew-st., Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High Street, Battersea, S.W.

BURNLEY.—G. H. Schofield, Sec., 77 Parliament-st., Burnley. Branch meets every Sunday at 11 a.m. at 77, Parliament-street.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 12, Burmester Rd., Tooting, S.W. Branch meets Saturdays, 29, Thornsett-nd at 8.30. Rooms open every evening.

EAST HAM.—E. E. Hagger, Sec., 49, Rosebery-av., Manor Park, E. Branch meets at above address alternate Thursdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—Sidney Auty, Sec., 60, Gilpin Grove, Edmonton. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30.

FULHAM.—E. Fairbrother, Secretary, 1, Groton Rd., Wandsworth, S.W. Branch meets every Mon. at 8 Lockhart's, Walham Grn., followed by discussion. Public welcome.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secy. Branch meets every Wed. at 8 at 144, Seven Sisters-nd, Holloway, N.

MANCHESTER.—J. Marsh, Sec., 97, Blantyre-st., Swinton, near Manchester. Branch meets alternate Fridays at 8 p.m. at Lockharts, Oxford-st. (opposite Palace Theatre). Public admitted.

NOTTINGHAM.—F. Kneller, Sec., 27, Thurman-st., Hyson Green.

PADDINGTON.—B. Carthurs, Sec., 33, Wallerton-nd, Maida Hill, W. Branch meets every Thursday, 8.45 p.m., at 381, Harrow Road (side door).

PECKHAM.—J. Benford, Sec., 38, Kimberley Rd., Nunhead. Branch meets every Friday at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

ROMFORD DIVISION.—All communications to the Secretary, S.P.G.B. Club, 27, York Road, Ilford. Branch meets Sundays, 8 p.m. at Club. Speakers' Class, Thursdays at 9.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—D. W. Fisher, Sec., 52, Petherton Rd., Canonbury, N. Branch meets first and third Mondays, 8 p.m. at 2, Dalston Lane (2nd floor).

TOOTING.—H. Walis, Sec., 111, Selvingcourt Rd., Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Gorring Dining Rooms, Tooting Junction.

TOTTENHAM.—J. T. Bigby, Sec., 46, Brunswick-nd, S. Tottenham. Branch meets Mondays at 8 p.m. at Tottenham Central Club, 366 High-nd.

WALTHAMSTOW.—H. Crump, Sec., 623, Forest-nd, Walthamstow. Branch meets at above address every Thursday at 8.30.

WATFORD.—G. Glen, Sec., 4, Marlborough Road. Branch meets every Friday at 8 p.m.

WEST HAM.—Communications to Secretary. Branch meets Mondays 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green Street, Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—W. C. Mathews, Sec., 6, Gladstone Avenue, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Wednesday at 8.30 at 2, Station-nd, Wood Green.

Post free 1d. per copy from the S.P.G.B., 10, Sandland Street, London, W.C.

Explains the Party's position towards the S.D.F., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Fourth Edition, with preface.

Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**OBJECT.**

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b. and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles**THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN****HOLDS**

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class-struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above-principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

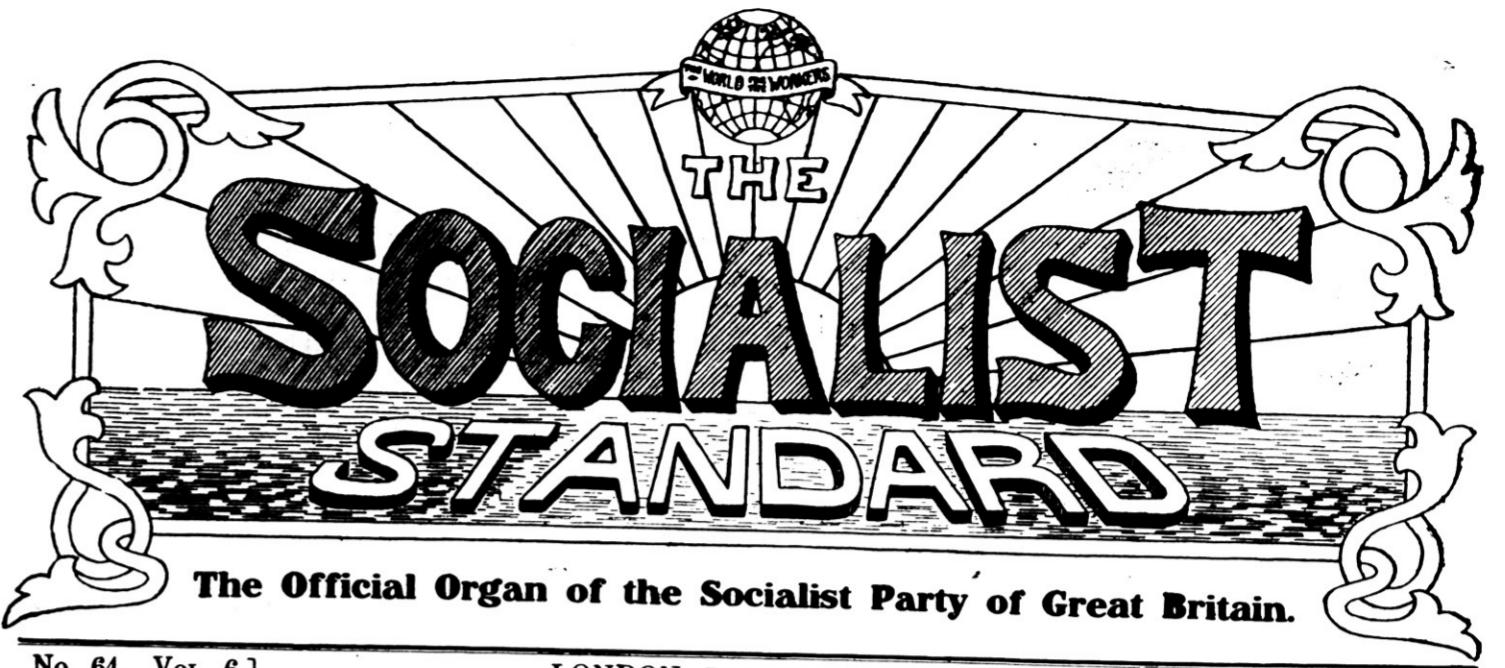
Signature.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above. The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.



No. 64. VOL. 6.]

LONDON, DECEMBER 1909.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LABOURISM VERSUS SOCIALISM. A DEBATE.

I.L.P. "I.L.P. or S.P.G.B.: which offers the most practical policy for the workers to follow?"

S.P.G.B. The above subject was debated before a large audience at Tooting Graveney Schools on October 13th last, T. A. Jackson representing the I.L.P. and J. Fitzgerald the S.P.G.B. The chair was occupied by Mr. W. H. Smith, a well known local Liberal.

T. A. JACKSON in opening the debate, said the policy the working class must adopt must be a reasonable and practical one; and the actions of a party have to be considered in relation to the times and circumstances in which the party appears.

One must consider the general tendency of the organisation, not the actions of individuals of that organisation. Socialism is a fixed principle of action, a method; and these methods will be determined by the condition of society. Society is an organism, and its institutions and general form are determined by the degree of economic development. What is the cause of the growth of society? It is the struggle of individuals for betterment that is the driving force behind the change and growth in society. When society has developed up to a certain point under the system of private ownership of the means of life, the class divorced from the means of life see in the possessing class their common enemy. This gives rise to a class conflict in society, and it is from the conflict that the I.L.P. takes its name. It is merely a question of time for the struggle on the workers' part to become a class-conscious one. Trade unions were formed to resist encroachments, and we have acquired knowledge of a superior kind by persevering in this direction.

In a social struggle it is not what an individual thinks he is that matters, but what he does. The I.L.P. has systematically set itself to support a definite policy for the emancipation of the working class. But we have to take things as we find them, such as the degree of economic development, just how much the people are prepared to accept, etc. The movement is of necessity slow. The principle difficulties in the way are the ignorance and apathy of the working class. The I.L.P. encourages the hesitating and tentative actions of the workers. We have no scheme: we can only encourage and help the workers to struggle against the master class. You answer the man in the street with broad generalities, such as "unemployment cannot be abolished under capitalism." We agree. But

Unmasking the Capitalists. we propose to force the capitalist class to reveal themselves as a class ruling in their own interests. Either they must adopt the measures we put forward, or they will commit suicide by rejecting them and

thereby admitting that they are incapable of controlling society.

We encourage the spirit of revolt whenever it arises, as in the struggle the workers will acquire the knowledge and experience necessary to carry on a Socialist state.

FITZGERALD in his first speech said, a policy is a line of action to obtain a given object. Obviously, then, the policy is subservient to and must be guided by the object aimed at, otherwise one might take up the absurd position of having a policy or line of action in contradiction with one's object.

The S.P.G.B. laid down as its object the ownership of the means of living and their democratic control by the community. To-day the workers operate all the means of life, and thus produce all the wealth existing in society; but they do not control either the machinery of production or the products. This ownership and control is in the hands of the capitalist or master class, who look upon the working class as the goose that lays the golden eggs. Obviously the goose must be kept in the requisite condition for the production of the eggs, but that is the whole share of the worker in the wealth produced, no matter how large the product may be.

Between these two sections in society there is of necessity an antagonism of interests, however vigorous the attempts to disguise it. To deny this class conflict is to deny the facts of capitalism. But while

I. L. P.

the master class were conscious of their position and on which side their interests lie, the workers in the main are ignorant of their position and the way out.

The master class are able to dominate to-day because, being in possession of political power, they control the revenues necessary for the maintenance of the armed forces, judicial machinery, etc., which are the ultimate factors in controlling the working class. The ruling class, however, have to rely upon the workers to vote them into power, as out of the seven-and-a-half million voters on the register, over five millions belong to the working class. Any and every advice given to the working class to use their votes in support of any other than a Socialist candidate was, necessarily, advising them to place the essential power for domination in the hands of their enemies the master class.

When the workers gained the knowledge of their slave position they would realise that the only policy they could follow to achieve their freedom was that laid down by the S.P.G.B., namely, to organise politically in opposition to all other parties in the political field for the purpose of gaining the control of the political powers and using them to establish Socialism.

He challenged his opponent to show any

Criticism flaw or mistake in either the premises or the deductions drawn from them.

What was the position of the I.L.P.? JACKSON had said that it was based on the class struggle. Listen, however, to what Keir Hardie said in the "Labour Leader" of 2nd September, 1904.

For my part I have always maintained that to claim for the Socialist movement that it is a "class" war dependent for its success upon the "class" consciousness of one section of the community is doing Socialism an injustice and indefinitely postponing its triumph.

True! in the same column he also said: Now it is not to be disputed that there is a conflict of interests between those who own property and those who work for wages. The tenant and his landlord and the worker and his employer have interests which lead to inevitable conflict and antagonism.

But this is only one example of the deliberately contradictory and misleading statements of that agent of the Liberal Party. In the same journal for Sep. 9 '04 he says "the class war dogma . . . does not touch one human sentiment or feeling . . . I protest against the insistence upon the class war dogma. There is no 'ruling and oppressed class' in the Marxian sense of the term in England now. . . Socialism will come for the most part as a thief in the night, without observation." Let JACKSON square these statements with his own remarks—if he can.

Fitzgerald then read several extracts from an article in the SOCIALIST STANDARD for July 1906, wherein it was stated that those who denied the class struggle must adopt the attitude of reform and compromise, and that that worker is class conscious who has seen the duty of enlisting under the banner of Revolution—in the political party of the workers—the Socialist Party of Great Britain. That the middle-class man "converted" to Socialism is generally a grave danger to the movement, and that the first thing to do is to make the workers class-conscious. That article was signed by T. A. JACKSON. Would he point out wherein it was less correct to-day than when it was written? The I.L.P. was led by a clique who advised the workers to knock their heads against a wall, with the result of sore heads following, and then scolded them for the apathy such results naturally brought.

JACKSON in his second speech said: The I.L.P. have embodied Socialism in their declaration of principles. Would you alter people's ideas by preaching at them or by taking them along the road of practical experience? For his part he refused to believe in a dogmatic set

of individuals who claim to know everything. As Lieb-Congratulates necht had said, it was a waste of time to frame programmes Himself. as the most exact and scientific statement to-day would be obsolete tomorrow.

The policy of the I.L.P. is more in accordance with Marx's position than is the policy of the S.P.G.B. When the International was founded they did not set themselves up as a sect apart. The working class will only gradually develop and therefore to make them class-conscious we must encourage every action on their part. Our policy was to get the workers moving as a mass, irrespective of the object aimed at. The members of the I.L.P. were allowed a wide diversity of opinion, and the fullest possible freedom was given to the branches. He did not agree with everything said by Keir Hardie, neither did the rest of the members. How then could they be led? The article in the "Standard" he still adhered to if I.L.P. was substituted for S.P.G.B. He had almost forgotten he possessed the ability to pen such a brilliant article, and he could only say he was proud of it. Jackson then quoted from the "Communist Manifesto": "The communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties. They have no interests separate and apart from the proletarian as a whole. They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement. Finally they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries." That, he claimed, was the position of the I.L.P. Of course he knew of Engel's preface, and to save Fitzgerald's time he would quote it then. "The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and for that reason no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of section II." He claimed the I.L.P. were applying those principles to-day in a practical manner. They used the organised forces of the workers to win concessions from the capitalist class, and when the ruling class refused to deal with any problem, the I.L.P. not only put forward proposals, but had also detailed practical propositions for the working class to take up when they had conquered political power. The S.P.G.B. thought they had only to get control of political power and the social problems would automatically solve themselves.

Fitzgerald in his second speech said: To continue from the point where the call of "time" interrupted him, we are told the I.L.P. is an "independent" party. When and where was it independent? From the first elections it had contested in 1895 down to that of Mid-Derby, when Keir Hardie wore the Liberal favour, the I.L.P. or the clique who run it, had always had its bargains with the capitalist party. That was why certain bye-elections were not contested, and also why in other bye-elections the official section publicly opposed the local member's choice. To-day they no longer existed as a Party, for they had sunk their policy entirely into that of the Labour Party, which they themselves had stated again and again was a non-Socialist organisation. The I.L.P. opposed the introduction of Socialism into the Labour Party, and yet claimed that this non-Socialist body should have representation upon the International Socialist Bureau. To obtain a reputation abroad the I.L.P. were willing to accept the prosecution of the class war as the basis of their political activity, as a condition of entry to the International Socialist Congresses. When at home again, they denied the existence of the class war. Their policy is to get certain men into Parliament, and their only independence was that of selling themselves to the highest bidder—Liberal or Suffragette.

Their Object—"The Socialist State where land and capital would be held by the community" was a contradiction in terms. Capital was wealth used to obtain a profit—that was exploitation. Under Socialism exploitation, and, of course, profit, would be abolished. Necessarily then capital could not exist. According to their statement the I.L.P. wished robbery to continue under Socialism. Keir Hardie had questioned "whether there is another political party in the world where democracy is so much a reality as it is within the ranks of the I.L.P." Democracy means the control by the rank and file. In the I.L.P. constitution it was deliberately arranged that the rank and file should not control, as nowhere in it was there any provision for a vote of the members on any question. Again, the

constitution stated that "the Annual Conference is the ultimate authority in the Party," but the final word in the selection of candidates and the choosing of constituencies was left to the N.A.C. To talk of democracy in the face of these facts was sheer piffle. If the I.L.P. agrees with the Communist Manifesto, and "do not form a separate party," why had they allowed the official clique to prevent the fusion of the I.L.P. and S.D.P.? If Liebnecht's statement was to be taken, then the I.L.P. was to be doubly condemned, for they not only had a long programme of items for the capitalist class to deal with, but had proposals for the early days of Socialism! If the first set would be obsolete the second would be fossilised before materialisation.

To say the S.P.G.B. was dogmatic was deliberately aside of the truth. As Jackson well knew, we were the only party in the political field who were prepared to discuss any point of our position, from the statement of object to the last utterance of a speaker upon the platform.

It was significant also that the I.L.P. had to wait until they obtained a renegade from our own ranks before they could attempt to defend their position in debate.

Jackson in his last speech said: The differences were largely a war of words, and that only a difference of policy separated them.

The policy of the I.L.P. was not deduced from some of Keir Hardie's sayings, but from their experience in the conflict. Their Object had been objected to because of the inaccurate statement re "capital" being owned by the community. He would remind his opponent that Karl Marx, in "Value, Price and Profit," had used what Marx himself called the "slang" term "value of labour" for "value of labour-power." The I.L.P. used the term "capital" in the popular, generally understood meaning of instruments of production. If it were permissible for Marx to use "slang" terms, surely the I.L.P. could follow his example. When referring to the action of the I.L.P. in claiming representation on the International Socialist Bureau for the Labour Party, Fitzgerald forgot to mention that the Bureau had accepted the position of the Labour Party as being the practical application of the class war, and agreed to seat them.

Fitzgerald had stated that the I.L.P. had refused to fuse with the S.D.P. nationally, but here in the local elections they had joined together, not only I.L.P. and S.D.P., but also the local Trades Council. Every working-class effort on the political field should be supported. We should bring forward practical proposals for dealing with certain problems such as the Unemployed Bill, to show the workers how the matter could be dealt with. We should show we were capable of facing the difficulties of the present while the working class was developing. Until the working class have grown to a recognition of their position this was the soundest and most practical policy to follow.

Fitzgerald in closing the debate, denied that this was a war of words, and claimed that it was one of principle. While it was true that he had taken the sayings of Hardie, McDonald, etc., in illustration of his case, the I.L.P. acquiesced in and accepted these actions and statements and stood bound by them. Not one of these things had ever been repudiated by the I.L.P., and they therefore stood as expressions of their policy. The reference to Marx's use of "slang" in "Value, Price and Profit" was quite beside the point. Marx had taken care to give correct definitions and terms first, and stated that he was only using the popular substitute for convenience sake. The I.L.P. gave false statement without any explanation—nay they even defended the false as truth. To talk of the Labour Party's policy being "the practical application of the class war" was deliberately inaccurate. Take one instance alone. When the strikers were shot down in Belfast under the Liberal Government, not a single "Labour" member denounced the official Government responsible for this murder. The I.L.P. members of Parliament were silent also—why? Because like the other members of the Labour Party they owed their seats to the Liberal Party and therefore, as often before, acted the part of traitors on the very occasion when a defender of the working class would have spoken out. It was rather amusing to hear of the spoken out as a reply to the statement of the national disunity that ex-

isted, but even here his opponent fell short of the truth. One of the candidates they were opposing (Anderson) stated in his election address that he was in favour of the Right to Work, while the "Labour" candidates said nothing about it. He was also in favour of penny fares for any journey any time on the trams, while the "Labour" candidates only wanted cheaper fares up to 9 o'clock a.m. Why did they not join with this "advanced democrat"?

In conclusion he claimed that the position of the S.P.G.B. had not been touched in any point. Jackson had failed to show any error in the Declaration of Principles of the S.P.G.B., nor had he shown any flaw in the logical deduction from these principles, which formed our policy. We therefore still stood clear and correct as we had done from our inception.

A vote of thanks to the chairman, to which he suitably replied, closed the meeting. F. F.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Reply to H. Harrison.—To query 1. If a worker (S.P. man included) finds his trade union effective at all, as a means of aggression upon or resistance against the employers, he does well to stay inside, but if not, then he does well to leave. The S.P.G.B. requires adhesion to its rules and principles, and hitherto has confined its utterances, with regard to trade unions, to a discussion of their principles and tactics, leaving its members to use their own discretion as to whether or not they should be members of trade unions.

No. 2. There is no such analogy between the trade unions and the pseudo-Socialist political organisations as you assume when you suggest that the members of this Party should (consistently with their trade union attitude) have remained within those political bodies. In the first place, the political membership is voluntary, while, on the other hand, membership of the economic organisation is owing to trade considerations, generally compulsory. Pending the establishment of the Socialist, economic organisation (depending upon the decay, as a force, of the old trade unions and upon the increase of Socialists) members of our Party are entitled to remain in the existing trade unions, guided, always, by our Declaration of Principles.

No. 3. Again we expect a man to act as circumstances dictate. The conditions of membership of the S.P.G.B. are adhesion to our Declaration of Principles and rules.

No. 4. We agree that the "coffin club" side of trade unionism impairs its efficiency as a weapon in the class struggle. While Socialists are few we cannot expect much improvement in trade unions: the crying need is *more Socialists*. In the meantime the trade unions, with all their faults, must, perchance, suffice.

You suggest that trade unionism is a palliative and ask if not why not.

Palliatives are measures for which it is claimed that they will mitigate, soften, aye even prevent (or should we say cloak, like the Old Age Pension Act?) the evil effects of the capitalist system, and which will, by their accumulation, change capitalism into Socialism—measures like the "legal enactment of an Eight Hour Day," for example, and the innumerable other nostrums advocated by the S.D.P., I.L.P., etc.

The various appendages of trade unionism should not prevent us from recognising that it, on the other hand, is in essence, the combination of workers for the sale of their labour-power by collective bargaining; a mechanism that the workers have evolved, and that through bitter experience, to aid them in the struggle against the economic degradation caused by the unrestricted play of competition; a machinery that has in the past acted—and does still act in a declining degree—as a check upon, although not preventing, that degradation.

The continued exercise of such collective economic resistance (to-day requiring membership of existing trade unions) is clearly not the same thing as advocating "palliatives" as above defined and generally understood.

Can you tell us where Marx made the alleged statement re "the idea of God," etc.? We should like to know.

Members of our Party can only vote for the Party candidates.—Ed. "S.S."

JOTTINGS.

Addressing the African Society in London on Nov. 5th, the German Colonial Secretary, Herr Durnberg, eased himself of the following statement conditions in the German and English African possessions.

"It is not only a part of our common trusteeship towards the natives (to combat alcohol) but also good social economy in maintaining a fit and healthy body of native labour for their and our sake. For the greatest part of tropical Africa cannot be exploited by the white man alone."

"Without a healthy and robust man we cannot colonise, and that is why we all have the identical interest to keep down and reduce the use of alcohol."

Just so, and for similar reasons do a certain section of the capitalist class of all countries, in their home affairs, decry the use of alcohol because in part its use means a less exploitable worker due to his decreased efficiency.

Brewery concerns recognise this, for whilst willing to make profit on the sale of alcoholic drinks, their staffs are enjoined to keep sober and temperate habits.

Paul Lafargue in his essay on "Socialism and the Intellectuals," states that the capitalist "directs his economists and his other intellectual domestics to prove to the working class that it has never been so happy and that its lot goes on improving."

Proof of the truth of this statement is to hand from Germany.

Prof. Ehrenberg, of Rostock University, is an exponent of the "exact method of economic investigation," but other teachers of economics say he is but the mouthpiece of the exploiting class. Professors Schmoller, Bretano, and Wagner are amongst those making this charge against Professor Ehrenberg.

Certain German millionaires offered to endow a chair of economic science at Leipzig University, provided that Professor Ehrenberg was appointed to fill it. The senate of the university, however, rejected the offer.

The Manchester *Guardian*, in commenting upon the case, spoke of the danger of considering sociology, economy, and history as pure sciences instead of abstract sciences and dependent upon the individuality of the teachers of them, and further says that this is an example of the crudest American methods.

Now it seems to me, that the declining birth-rate is largely due to economic conditions. The married couple recognise that the joint wages (where even both go out to work) are barely sufficient to maintain a decent standard of living; every increase in the family meaning a lowering of the standard. And so the devil dodger's bogey comes in.

The sore point for him, of course, is that the "curse" in question denotes the break-up of the old respect for sacerdotal authority, and with it "the end of all things" dear to the priesthood.

It should be noticed that the priestly threat of punishment upon the sinners is not of the terrors of hell, but of earth—insanity. I had thought that this latter flagellation had been appropriated by our friends the Temperance muddlers.

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The Bishop of Manchester deplores "the light and superficial treatment of the most difficult economic problems by the younger Churchmen." Some of the younger clergy deplore that, whatever subject they speak upon, discussion being freely allowed, they always come round to "Socialism," and Dr. Knox is quite right to want them to get a better grip of economics because the "old controversies would become mere debates for children, almost frivolous and impatient."

Our Cause seems to trouble the wizards, doesn't it?

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"They had tried Liberalism, and it had proved a broken reed." Keir Hardie at Bradford.

This must be quite recent discovery for J. K. H., and perhaps a disappointment, for at Bristol on September 26th he spoke thus: "The Liberal Party would fight first of all for the Budget, and then it was a Budget worth fighting for."

The first quotation seems to bear out the assertion of a popular novelist that "a cynic is a sentimentalist whose feelings have been woefully hurt." Hardie's feelings must have undergone a terrible shock recently. Has he a premonition that the Tories may probably be the chosen of the people at the next election, and that he

has been backing the wrong horse, so to speak, in supporting Liberal measures for the past three years? Perhaps he has merely got the bump or the pip, in which case it will wear off in a day or two, and the noble virtues of the Governmental party will again fill the whole range of his vision and bring him once more to the prayerful attitude.

JAYNE.

We regret to learn that the Cause has lost an earnest and efficient worker by the death of Comrade Robert Stroud, of Toronto, Canada. Taking "the worker's risk" at his employment recently, he met with a severe accident, and, after a hard struggle for life, died. Comrade Stroud had taken great interest in circulating the "Socialist Standard" in Canada, and in other ways had been very active for the Cause. We send heartfelt condolence to his bereaved family and friends, associating with ourselves, as we are sure we may, every member of our Party.

BURNLEY.

The two candidates we placed in the field for the recent Municipal elections polled fifteen votes between them!

Tamlyn faced Dan Irving and Schofield fought Thomas, the secretary of the Burnley Weavers' Association. We do not claim to have won either a numerical or a moral victory, but we gave the S.D.P.'ers an opportunity for a straight vote and so made them declare themselves for what they are. Particularly between Schofield and the very orthodox Labourist Thomas one would have thought the choice was clear enough, but S.D.P.'ers did what—being what they are—they ought.

Although our poll was so minute we claim to have done good work, and are not dissatisfied with the result.

TOOTING.

The result of the recent Borough Council election proves that there was a solid revolutionary vote of 56 in the single ward we fought, but four votes separating our three men—60, 58, 56. The result, as showing the success of our efforts to have recorded for us none but sound votes, is very gratifying. That so large a proportion of our supporters should have voted for all three of our men indicates an appreciation, not of persons, but of principles, and justifies us in the claim that our teaching has been clear and to the point. We think that we found 56 supporters for the Revolution, and are encouraged in the hope that it is not altogether hopeless to appeal to the electorate upon the straight issue—Socialism.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fourth Edition with preface.

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WED.,

DEC. 1, 1909.

THE LORDS AND THE LIBERAL HYPOCRISY.

WRITING before the actual voting on the second reading of the Finance Bill in the Lords, and before the terms of the Premier's "remonstrance" are made public, there is yet no difficulty in judging of the role of the Liberal Party in the present "crisis," from its present attitude and past history. The veto of the Lords is a Liberal hasty annual. The late G. A. Sala said that during his experience as a journalist he had known eighteen distinct agitations against the House of Lords by the party of "going to do," all of which came to nought. Numerous resolutions have been passed by the Commons to "end or mend" the House of Lords, but all of them have been calmly ignored by Liberal Cabinets, who have accepted with remarkable meekness every vagary of the odds and ends who fill the Upper Chamber.

Of the present Budget itself it is hardly necessary to speak. There will be many dry eyes at its departure. It is a Dreadnought Budget of blood and iron, and the real nature of its threadbare reforms has already been exposed in these columns. Indeed, standing between a free-trade budget and a tariff-reform one, the worker is verily between the devil and the deep blue sea. But from these equally distasteful alternatives we turn to the present curious constitutional issue.

It is, as has before been observed, Liberalism's last ditch, and as like as not the Liberals will be buried in it. In spite of trap and agitation, the people are largely indifferent to the matter, and this is causing Jacks in office considerable anxiety. A keen and searching Tariff Reform agitation, dwelling almost solely on the question of unemployment, is telling in the constituencies against the Liberal-Labour coalition. What wonder, then, that their peace of mind is somewhat disturbed by the fact that the Lords for the nonce find it expedient to stand forth as champions of democracy by demanding an appeal to the electorate? It is considered extremely doubtful if the Liberals will obtain a majority sufficient for working purposes at the general election, and in any circumstances the Lords (aided and abetted by the Liberals) are playing a game of "heads I win, tails you lose."

It will be within the reader's memory that not long ago the irrepressible Mr. Churchill stated in a speech that the refusal of the Lords to pass the Finance Bill would be directly followed by an appeal to the country. The next day, however, the Premier took his *enfant terrible* to task and publicly declared that to dissolve at the dictation of the Lords would be to grant them privileges which belonged solely to the Cabinet and the King. The *Daily Chronicle* went further, and indicated several damning consequences that would follow such suicidal action on the part of the Government. And obviously, to dissolve because the Upper Chamber refused to pass the Budget would be granting the Lords a precedent for throwing

any government out, and for delaying and defeating any finance bill that did not coincide with their archaic views. Moreover, if the Liberal Government were re-elected and the Lords then passed the Budget, it would be no victory over the peers, but it would, on the contrary, have established a precedent which increased the privileges of the latter, and weakened the control of the Commons over finance.

Besides the "Municipal Reformers" and "Progressives" with the usual programmes and disputes between them as to whether the rates had or had not been reduced 1½d. in the £, we had what is known as the Progressive Labour Party, which is the local decoy duck for the Liberal Party. One of its most prominent members was once in the L.L.P., but as that organisation was always supporting the Liberal Party, he concluded, so he tells us, that the only logical attitude an L.L.P.'er could adopt was to leave that body and join the Liberals. Then there was the Islington Labour Party, the L.L.P. and the S.D.P. In the Upper Holloway Ward the last two ran conjointly, the latter issuing leaflets explaining that the rates and taxes did not affect the workers and the former leaflets advocating a half rate on empty houses. At a meeting in the Caledonian Road Baths, convened by the L.L.P. and Islington Labour Party, a speaker advocated a 5% tax on London ground rents to "ease the rates for the people." At the same meeting Mr. Keir Hardie said he "still clung to his faith in Jesus Christ" and "they must in God's name work and vote for labour candidates." The Islington Labour Party agreed to withdraw from St. Peter's Ward (in which the S.D.P. had six candidates) on condition that the latter abstained from contesting the Highbury Ward. So anxious were the Islington Labour Party to secure a seat on the Council that one of their prominent members—Mr. Copeland—asked the Liberals to allocate half the number of seats declared vacant to the Labour Party.

It was left to the Islington Branch S.P.G.B. to inculcate into the minds of the workers the principles of Socialism. We arranged a week's mission to place before the working class the Socialist position, and urged them to abstain from voting. The first night two good meetings were held, but rain prevented further meetings until Friday, when we had a fine meeting at Highbury Corner. It was on Saturday evening the strength of the Party in the neighbourhood was felt. Just prior to opening our meeting at Highbury Corner the Islington Labour Party arrived with band and banners. Several speeches were made from a cart, but not a single educational sentence was uttered. Nothing but sentimental twaddle was heard. After about fifteen minutes they departed, amid cries of "labour fakers," "labour bleeders." Commencing our meeting about 8, we had from the outset an audience of several hundreds, who listened to our speakers with marked attention. Presently we were disturbed by the arrival of a van containing the Progressive Labour Party's candidates, one of whom instructed the driver to drive right into our audience. Some of the comrades immediately seized the horse and backed the van, and the P.L.P. candidate came very near being precipitated in a most undignified manner into the gutter. Ten minutes convinced them that Highbury Corner that evening was no place for them, and as they were about to leave us in possession of that spot, one of their candidates, Mr. Roberts, again gave instructions to drive right on to our platform. But our audience, by this time numbering about a thousand, seized the van, and but for the timely interference of the police the result might have been disastrous to the P.L.P. candidates. Vociferous cheers were given for Socialism. A good collection was taken and about 70 SOCIALIST STANDARDS disposed of.

Our indoor propaganda meetings have been even more successful than we dared anticipate, the hall being packed on each occasion, and undoubtedly they will prove a means of enlarging our ever-increasing membership.

On November 6th the Social and Dance in aid of the Party Organ Guarantee Fund was held, and once again success was ours. The array of talent with which the audience were delighted was the best we have ever had, and as a result of the evening's entertainment the Fund will be augmented by about £3. Three hundred copies of the November issue of the "S.S." have been disposed of this month.

Circulation is our object, but there are various kinds of circulation. Pass the "Standard" on.

H. A. Y.

NOTES FROM ISLINGTON.

Islington is indubitably the home of labour quacks: all sorts and conditions of men eager to secure a seat on the Borough Council were put forward by the different organisations.

The Liberals admittedly are the most cunning of the capitalist class, and they cannot in consequence be acquitted when, instead of standing firm and saying, like Lord Milner, "damn the consequences!" and compelling the Upper House to give way, they deliberately decide that the Commons must commit suicide in this matter. As Mr. M'Kenna admitted in his Griffithstown speech on Nov. 23, "The Prime Minister said some time ago he would not advise a dissolution at the dictation of the Lords. And yet here we stand to-day admittedly compelled to have an election in consequence of the action of that body." Thus, thanks to the Liberals, the peers stand to win in any case, and Liberalism is again exposed for the fraud it is.

In point of fact the Liberals do not intend, and never have intended, to abolish the Upper Chamber. It is far too valuable to them. To both that and the Tory section of the capitalist class it is highly valuable as a barricade that may be called into future usefulness against the rising forces of Socialism. Moreover, it is particularly useful to the party in power at present as an effective election slogan, and as a universal excuse for broken promises. Without the Lords the Liberals would cut a very sorry figure—and well they know it. A peerage is the latter party's campaign-fund-contributor's expected reward. Moreover, many opulent supporters of the present Government are even now impatiently awaiting their peerage, and an instance, Sir Alfred Thomas, who according to the *Morning Leader* (Nov. 25th) is standing down for a "labour" man in East Glamorgan, as part of the unholy lib-lab compact, and "will accept a peerage" apparently in recompense. How, then, can the Liberals abolish the House of Lords?

The Conservatives are refreshingly frank regarding their chief reason for desiring to retain or strengthen the Lords. The *Observer* for Nov. 28th says:

"At all costs we must avoid a Constitutional

which could only be a screen for the proceedings of any Socialistic majority of the future. If there is to be any change in the composition of the House of Lords as it exists, there is no escape whatever from the inexorable dilemma on which we have insisted again and again. There must be either a stronger Second Chamber or no Second Chamber."

The Second Chamber has been abolished once in English history, only to be restored and to maintain its position as an integral part of capitalist government. Even prominent Liberals to day, such as Mr. Haldane, confess to an anxiety to retain the upper house in some form; and regarding the projects for adapting that chamber more closely to modern conditions, it is obvious that capitalist reform of the Lords would mean a strengthening of that body against working-class advance.

Whatever may be the final details of the decision of the Lords on the Finance Bill; whatever the terms of Mr. Asquith's resolution in imitation of that of Lord Palmerston; whatever the result of the January elections that are to follow, it remains practically certain that beneath all the bluff the privileges of the peers have been increased at the expense of the Commons through the supine policy the Liberals have indicated they will follow.

Yet even the threatened strengthening of that bulwark against revolution will, in spite of its intention, fortify the revolutionary movement. It will be another factor helping the workers to see the futility of compromise with capitalist parties, and it will further demonstrate the crying need for a determined, intelligent, and really independent policy on the part of the workers for the revolutionary conquest of the State for Socialism.

A good collection was taken and about 70 SOCIALIST STANDARDS disposed of.

Our indoor propaganda meetings have been even more successful than we dared anticipate, the hall being packed on each occasion, and undoubtedly they will prove a means of enlarging our ever-increasing membership.

On November 6th the Social and Dance in aid of the Party Organ Guarantee Fund was held, and once again success was ours. The array of talent with which the audience were delighted was the best we have ever had, and as a result of the evening's entertainment the Fund will be augmented by about £3. Three hundred copies of the November issue of the "S.S." have been disposed of this month.

H. A. Y.

REVOLUTION'S REPLY TO REFORM.

The answer to "Arms for the Workers: A Defence of the Programme of the Social-Democratic Party." (E. C. Fairchild, Lon. Organiser S.D.P.)

By common consent, Socialists agree that the control of the National Executive by the working class must precede the use of land and the instruments of production for the common good. Conflicts between the classes in society are but struggles to secure possession of the central authority that decrees the law, which registers or changes the conditions of property holding. Control of politics means control of property.

Thus Mr. Fairchild opens. But he is incorrect. Politics is the science of government, or, the contests for power of government. Our author means neither the control of the science nor of the contests, but the control of political power. Then Control of political power is political power. Henceforth we shall transcribe the sentence: "Political power means control of property."

The palliator then deals with his subject under sectional headings. We will do the same, using his headings.

The Principle Common to Socialists.

We cannot escape restraints upon our freedom imposed by our life in the past. Custom and tradition weigh as heavily in politics as in other departments of human activity.

Is this the language of regret? It seems so, for as a consequence:

The political party that appealed to electors upon a statement of object only, would soon find the average man so far rational that he wished to know the means by which the object would be realised.

Exactly. Were it otherwise Socialists, optimists as they are, might deem the fight hopeless. But reformers dread the question, and for fear of it will not appeal to the electors upon a statement of object only. We read:

For this reason, the Socialist Party in every country has formulated a number of proposals, variously known as palliatives, platforms, or stepping-stones.

The object of Socialists, reduced to the utmost limits of brevity, is—Socialism. Not so sentimentally, but with more information, the S.P.G.B. states its object as "The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community."

The "rational" man at once asks "Is present society so based?" No. Then how is the property change to be effected? Mr. Fairchild himself supplies our answer to the dread question.

"Control of the National Executive by the working class must precede the use of land and the instruments of production for the common good." Then we must get control of the National Executive, or, to lift ourselves above the S.D.P. loose verbiage, must capture the political machinery. Why? Because it is "the central authority that decrees the law, which registers or changes the conditions of property holding." Because, to use a less questionable phrase, "control of the National Executive" means political power, and "political power means control of property."

The answer is clear and easy. Why then, does the reformer try to put "the electors" off asking the question by giving them "a number of proposals" which are not Socialism to think about?

Of course, the reform defender has the alternative that his language is as loose in this passage as elsewhere, that these "proposals" are not formulated to avoid the question, but to answer it—and the use of the term "stepping-stones" would bear him out. But to submit these "palliatives" as the answer to the question "how is Socialism to be attained?" is to claim that they are indeed stepping-stones to Socialism; that they are revolutionary, and undermine the capitalist basis of society. Perhaps we shall see later if he dare take up this position.

Concerning the proposals we read:

While the private possession of land and capital continued, these proposals could be applied by a government representing the interests of the capitalist class, or by a government acting on behalf of the workers and having Socialism as its aim.

So we are asked to imagine that the working class have obtained "control of the National Executive" which "must precede the use of land and the instruments of production for the common good"; have captured that political power which means "control of property"; are installed (in the persons of their "Socialist" representatives) as the "central authority that decrees the law, which registers or changes the conditions of property holding." And this "Socialist" Government, with its control of property, its power of "changing the conditions of property holding"—what does it do? Does it announce the fructescence, the fruit-time longed for by the tired labourers of "myriad meetings"? Does it, having attained all that is needed for the purpose—control of the armed forces and the other instruments of government—change the property condition from private to common ownership, and so establish Socialism and free humanity from the curse of wage labour and all its concomitant evils? Oh no! At the moment when exploitation should cease for ever it begins to dabble with Eight Hours Days and Minimum Wages!

But this seeming idiocy can be easily accounted for. The palliator puts forward "palliatives" in order to catch votes. When we are invited to suppose a government "having Socialism as its aim" installed at Westminster, we are really asked to imagine the most complete realisation of the "get there at any price" policy. The pseudo-Socialists have captured the seats, but as our author knows well enough, they have not captured one shred or vestige of political power. As a matter of fact, as far as essentials go, the position remains unchanged. The working class have control of the "National Executive," but only in the sense that they had it previously. Formerly, in their ignorance, they elected their masters; now, in their ignorance, they elect men of their own class who are not honest enough, or intelligent enough, or brave enough, to come before them with the plain statement of Socialist object only, but have formulated a number of proposals which were perhaps intended to carry them into power, but

have only carried them into place. The minds of those who elected these misleaders have undergone no change, and since it is the mind of the electorate which controls the National Executive, the control of this "central authority" means exactly what it did before—the perpetuation of capitalist control of property, decreed by working-class ignorance.

The "government having Socialism for its aim" occupies a false position. Seated on fraudulent pretensions, it is utterly impotent. The most honest of its members thought to snatch a victory for Socialism on the votes of those opposed to the revolutionary principle, and now they find that, true as it is that "political power means control of property," it by no means follows that political power and political place are synonymous, or that property is controlled in the interests of those who have control of the "central authority." That depends upon their consciousness of those interests.

In order to obtain political power for working-class interests it was necessary for the working-class representatives to draw their strength from an electorate cognisant of those interests, instead of which, in the case we are invited to imagine, they are upheld by a working-class electorate with the capitalist mind, who have given them no mandate for revolution, no authority for changing "the conditions of property holding." If it is true, then, that "conflicts between the classes in society are but struggles to secure possession of the central authority that decrees the law which changes the conditions of property holding," then the recognition that this "Socialist" government which has become the "central authority" is powerless to interfere with the property condition of present society is a confession that the palliator's vote-catching policy is fighting the battle on wrong lines.

Without political power, and therefore without control of property, our government having Socialism as its aim," is reduced to its Minimum Wage bill, its Eight Hour act, and so on. But whether these things are "applied" by a government representing the interests of the capitalist class, or by a government acting on behalf of the workers, the result must be the same. "Political power means control of property," but, given the property conditions, the economic laws which arise out of them are beyond its reach. Political power may sweep away private ownership of the means of production, but so long as that property condition continues, the exact degree of misery of the workers as a class will be determined by industrial development, and will be unamenable to palliatives.

Concerning the central idea of the section, that "the principle common to Socialists" which our palliator observes "beneath, or running through," the various proposals, is "the extension of collective or communal action for the general well-being, in place of the use of national resources for private gain," this implies "control of property," which only political power can give the workers. To say that they have this political power is to say that they have the power to abolish private property in the means of life and to establish Socialism; to say that they have it not is to say, on our opponent's own showing, that they cannot extend "collective or communal action for the general well-being," or, as he earlier put it, use "land and the instruments of production for the common good." To maintain that they have that political power which should accompany political place (and which is only important to the workers because it confers the power to change the property conditions of society) and yet allow "the private possession of land and capital" to continue while they apply their "palliative" is to rebuke the lie that they have Socialism as their aim, and expose themselves as willful perpetrators of capitalism.

Further, so far from true is it that there is any "principle common to Socialists" running through these proposals, that the principle common to capitalists—exploitation—is implied by and writ large over most of them, for example the Eight Hours Day and the Minimum Wage.

The Socialist in Politics.

There is little in this section that Mr. Fairchild has not touched upon in the previous one. He claims that "the items of the Socialist (I) programme are a recognition that the claims of society are greater than the rights of private property in land and capital."

Are they, indeed? It seems to the present penman that if anything could have denoted the utter abandonment of all and any rights, claims or hopes by the workers, it is to hear "Socialists" talking of the application of "a government, acting on behalf of the workers, and having Socialism as its aim," of Eight Hour Days, Minimum Wages, feeding necessitous children, and (p. 2) "public control of those agencies which supply public needs, on lines that will secure release from the burdens imposed by the payment of interest to idle money-lenders."

What touching solicitude for the property owners' welfare!

"The Socialist in politics," it seems, is bound to formulate a palliative programme. We take the opposite view.

We hold that only by the change of the property basis of society from private to common ownership can the workers' position be improved. "Political power means control of property." To have political power we must have political place, but we may have political place without having political power. But since it is not political place which controls property, that alone is useless to us, and its attainment would prove calamitous

inconveniently thrown overboard. Should they, on the other hand, attempt the revolutionary property change, they will quickly find out what it means to be without political power. Their political castle, built upon the rotten foundation of a non-Socialist electorate, will collapse at the first blast of their own trumpets, crumble beneath the tramp of their own feet.

Whichever course the "government having Socialism as its aim" should follow, the result must be the utter waste of all the precious working-class enthusiasm and weary effort—blood and treasure in the very essence—and consequent apathy and loss of confidence in themselves among the workers.

In order to avoid this misfortune, the Socialist Party of Great Britain takes the field without palliatives or other vote-catching devices. Holding that the duty of "the Socialist in politics" is to build up a position upon a thoroughly sound, revolutionary foundation, it discourages support from those who do not hold its principles. It is with this object it has framed a rule (31) to the effect that all or none of the vacant seats in any particular ward or constituency must be contested and that all must be elected or none allowed to take their seats. Our political place must be the measure of our political power.

A. E. JACOMB.

To be Continued.

THE CARPENTER AND THE WALRUS.

THE Carpenters, in common with the rest of the building trade, are having a bad time. The promised trade boom seems to have missed its way. At one time all the economic ills that flesh is heir to were ascribed to the South African war, and looked upon as its inevitable aftermath. Later, as things refused to "look up," the continuance of the Tories in office was the undoubted source of the chronic depression which hung like a cloud over industry. Out they went like a land-slide, and, plastered with platitudes promises and perfidy, in went the "friends of the people," the Liberals.

Now, thought the Carpenter (and nearly everybody else), something is going to happen. It has happened. If anything, unemployment is worse now than after the war. Now, one hears that "things are always bad when the Liberals are in."

The Carpenter has been mentioned. Perpend!

The unemployment among the hewers of wood has reached such an acute stage that some genius among them has elaborated the highly original device known as "getting up a concert." To those unacquainted with the details of this startling innovation it may be explained that it resolves itself into a scheme whereby everyone spends a shilling or so to witness a more or less varied exhibition of "talent," in the fervent hope that at least three ha'pence will reach the poor devils whom it is designed, and advertised, to benefit. All credit to the Carpenters and Joiners.

Among the individuals circularised was Mr. Howard Colls, one of the firm known and loved as "Trollops." Mr. Colls being what the elect style "wide," beamed one of his broadest and most affable smiles (in private) and came down handsomely to the tune of £10 (in public).

That is not all Mr. Colls did. He improved the ever shining hour by composing a little homily addressed to his enlightened workers, his "friends of half a century," had it nicely printed, and presented a copy to each man as he drew his wages.

It is an interesting document. Not, mind you, because it contains anything fresh and scintillant, but because in answer to the possible query of an indignant carpenter—"What do you take me for?" Mr. Colls leaves the reply pretty evident. After the inevitable batrachian tear over the appalling, etc., distress, as a prelude, Mr. Colls gets to business with the following: "You must agree with me, I think, in seeing that the working men cannot live on one another, neither can builders like myself. The work that has to be done by you and me has to be paid for by people who have the money to spend, and directly you arouse in them the

feeling of insecurity, they naturally refrain from spending this money."

Now that's very dreadful, isn't it? One begins to wonder how these people obtain the necessities of life, when the dreadful feeling of insecurity gets hold of them and prevents them buying anything. But Mr. Colls, as we have said, is "wide." He has anticipated the objection, and meets it by asserting that "the building trade suffers more than any other in this respect, because certainly more than half of the work done by the builder is not a necessity, but a luxury." And when we gaze at the crowd of hungry, homeless men freezing on the Embankment, we are inclined to agree with him. Shelter, a mere animal necessity, possessed even by primitive man, is at present a luxury to thousands of his civilised descendants! Of course, that is not quite what Mr. Colls means. He wishes to infer that, over 50 per cent. of the work done by the building trade being purely a luxury, this dreadful feeling of insecurity means a less expenditure on luxury. Let us see.

"We cannot (they say) ignore the grave warnings of the report of the Poor Law Commissioners as to the effect of what they call "the new problem of chronic under-employment." It is assumed that the whole of industry is kept going by a chosen few people who act as spenders or disbursers of money to the nation. The source of their ceaseless stream is variously spoken of as Land, Stocks, Shares, etc. In reality they hold a lien upon the labour of a certain group of the workers. Those rusty, fusty old bundles of deeds, mortgages, stocks, shares and bonds are really shackles to fit various kinds of labourers. Mortgages are the shackles that bind the farmer and the small speculating builder to the capitalist establishment. Shares are a remarkably elastic shackle that may be adjusted to fit frail women and children in cotton factories or brawny men digging for coal in the recesses of the earth's crust. All are cunningly designed slave-irons, whereby the masses, male and female, young and aged, broken and tamed by the threat of hunger and privation, are chained in the galleys of the capitalists. When, therefore, Mr. Colls addresses you thusly: "you must agree with me that the working men cannot live on one another," you can, at least, argue that they do not, and point out, forcibly if need be, that there appears to be a small and useless crowd of insatiable parasites who are certainly making a fat living out of working men—and women, of course.

Refuse to be hooked by the "people-who-spend-the-money" bait. It is not the wealth spent that matters so much—it is its source. And this is found in the unpaid labour of the working class.

Mr. Colls is not worth all this good ink and paper, but there may be a few otherwise intelligent people who have been taken in by this and similar twaddle. Whatever microscopic value the argument (!) may have had, Mr. Colls deliberately flings away, for even he does not contend that the timid spenders lock their money up in old oak chests. No! The same interesting document informs us that they prefer to "invest in securities which are more simple, easily realisable, and, in their opinion, now more secure."

Such as what, sir? Such as what? With capital leaving the country, and foreign capital coming in, and capital doing ditto in every other country and the whole industrial universe in general going to pot, there must be many who would be grateful to learn where these simple, easily realisable, etc. securities may be found. There is, of course, the possible alternative that Mr. Colls is talking through his hat.

The document concludes in a truly touching and paternal manner. The writer says "I assure you I write this as a friend of those with whom for nearly half a century I have been working, a friendship which will, I think, be generally acknowledged.

Those of you who remember the old Building Trades Federation, and the friendly part played by Trollops towards it, will take this in the spirit in which it is given. Grasp the paternal hand extended in your direction, grasp anything else that may be handy, and then go out and buy a copy of the new edition of our Manifesto.

WILFRED.

The receipt of a copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SCISSORS & PASTE.

"Anything but pleasant are the reflections induced by reading the annual report of the Prison Commissioners. The number of prisoners under lock and key in English gaols during the year was 9,448 in excess of the previous year's total—the figures being 205,681, as against 196,233.

"These continuously high numbers caused a great strain on the cell accommodation, and the Commissioners say that if the numbers remain high, and keep pace with the growth of population, the question of providing more accommodation must arise in the near future.

"As to the causes of the growth in the number of commitments to local prisons the Commissioners are emphatic in their opinion that the principle one is unemployment.

"We cannot (they say) ignore the grave warnings of the report of the Poor Law Commissioners as to the effect of what they call "the new problem of chronic under-employment." It is assumed that the whole of industry is kept going by a chosen few people who act as spenders or disbursers of money to the nation. The source of their ceaseless stream is variously spoken of as Land, Stocks, Shares, etc. In reality they hold a lien upon the labour of a certain group of the workers. Those rusty, fusty old bundles of deeds, mortgages, stocks, shares and bonds are really shackles to fit various kinds of labourers. Mortgages are the shackles that bind the farmer and the small speculating builder to the capitalist establishment. Shares are a remarkably elastic shackle that may be adjusted to fit frail women and children in cotton factories or brawny men digging for coal in the recesses of the earth's crust. All are cunningly designed slave-irons, whereby the masses, male and female, young and aged, broken and tamed by the threat of hunger and privation, are chained in the galleys of the capitalists. When, therefore, Mr. Colls addresses you thusly: "you must agree with me that the working men cannot live on one another," you can, at least, argue that they do not, and point out, forcibly if need be, that there appears to be a small and useless crowd of insatiable parasites who are certainly making a fat living out of working men—and women, of course.

In face of the foregoing what becomes of the old idealistic cry that education would abolish crime? Is it not again demonstrated that the dominating social factor is economic conditions? It should be noted, moreover, that the chief increase in crime is in offences against property, which form an overwhelming proportion of the whole. Statistics for past years show that the growth of crime against property is not temporary, but persistent. This is traceable to the fact that while the master class is growing richer the workers are becoming poorer. The gross amount of incomes subject to the Income Tax has increased by over £300,000,000 since 1894; but for the workers it has been a tale of pauperism and unemployment, more intense exploitation, and wider-spreading poverty.

The share of the workers in the growing wealth of "the country" is further indicated by the following facts regarding the increase of pauperism, which are culled from the *Daily Chronicle*, 15.9.09.

"A Local Government Board return states that in 1908 pauperism was higher than in 1907. On January 1, 1909, there were 959,848 persons in receipt of relief, as compared with 928,671 on January 1, 1908—an increase of 3.4 per cent.

"The number of able-bodied men relieved on account of 'want of work or other causes' (6,374) showed the very large increase of 133 per cent., as compared with the figure (2,732) for the previous year. Besides the assistance granted to able-bodied poor, under the Poor-law, it should be remembered, says the report, that the Distress Committees, in London and the provinces, and the Central (Unemployed) Body for London afforded assistance by relief works, emigration, and in other ways. The total number of persons provided with work by provincial Distress Committees and by the Central Body in the year ended March 31, 1909, was 88,190 while 1,139 persons were assisted to emigrate."

* * *

Another point. While crime, unemployment, and poverty have become more rife, we learn that drunkenness is decreasing, and (according to the tables prepared by the late Dr. Dawson Burns) that the annual drink bill of the United Kingdom has declined continuously during the past ten years. Yet there are despots of Ananias unpunished by the hand of God, who still maintain that drink is the chief cause of poverty! The teetotal fanatic is hoist by his own petard, for is not his claim that drink is at the bottom of practically all poverty completely demolished by the fact that crime and pauperism have increased side by side with a considerable and continued decline in the consumption of alcoholic liquors.

Mr. George Bernard Shaw, speaking on Oct. 20th at Walsall, said, among other silly things, that "the middle classes were the most heavily burdened people in the country, because they were not represented in Parliament"! He went on to advise the "middle class" that "the only way for you to get properly represented is to take a leaf from the working man's book and organise and subscribe." As a peregrinating "middle-class" paradox, Mr. Shaw has a certain popularity, and it can only be the need of sustaining that popularity that caused him to make the ineffably silly statement that the "middle" class is the most heavily burdened in the country. Through the whole of Mr. Shaw's buffoonery, however, there runs a constant serious purpose. It is to organise the "middle" class—not for any "ism"—but for "middle" class interests as distinct from the rest. Socialism, in his mouth, simply means "middle-class" supremacy, government of the people by the "middle" class for the benefit of the "middle" class. It is a "Socialism" of the "expert" Fabian brand, with the workers left out in the cold.

* * *

"Dr. Macnamara, in a strong speech, declared that Radicalism was irrevocably opposed to the principles on which Socialism was based." Thus the *Daily Chronicle* of October 21st. And it is remarkable how closely the responsible Liberal agrees with his Tory compeer when it comes to a question of Socialism. Other prominent Liberals have made a point of dotting the 't's and crossing the 't's of Mr. Balfour's pronouncement on this matter. Mr. Alexander Ure, the Lord Advocate, is a case in point. After denying that there was any Socialism in the Budget he went on to say

"The people are beginning to discover that Socialism and social reform are two entirely different things. In this respect I adopt entirely the definition of the two things given by Mr. Balfour at Birmingham in 1907:

Socialism has one meaning and one meaning only. Socialism means, and can mean nothing less, that the community is to take all the means of production into its own hands, and that private enterprise and private property is to come to an end. That is Socialism and nothing else is Socialism.

Social reform is when the State, based on private enterprise and based on private property—recognising that the result can only be obtained by respecting private property and encouraging private enterprise, asks men to contribute towards great national, social and public objects. That is social reform.

"I adopt these two definitions in their entirety. They could not be better put. I contend that our proposals fail under the latter description, and not under the former."

Daily Chronicle, 1.10.09.

Exactly. There is not a grain of Socialism in the Budget. Far from being a measure intended to benefit the workers, it is one for strengthening private property and encouraging private enterprise; and it is precisely from this capitalist private property and enterprise that the ills of the workers flow.

Prominent statesmen have rightly called social reform the antidote to Socialism, yet even as an antidote social reform must fail at last. Firstly because it is aimed not so much at relieving any of the misery caused by capitalist development as at enabling that development to proceed at a faster rate, and this brings a still further increase of exploitation and misery in its train.

And secondly, because even if genuinely intended it would be impossible for reform to reverse the trend of economic development; while the nature and interests of the ruling class is in itself a guarantee of the worthlessness of reform to the workers. It is inevitable that, under capitalism, the pressure upon the workers must increase; for were one childless enough to credit the masters with trying to promote the interests of the workers, it would, nevertheless, have to be admitted that all that capitalists could do would be entirely insufficient to counteract the dire influence of the industrial development of their system. By whatever road he travels the worker is inevitably brought face to face with the fact that in Socialism, and in Socialism alone, lies the hope of his class.

F. C.

The whole pamphlet is written entirely from a bourgeois point of view, and the author clearly proves (one thinks it must have been done unintentionally) that the only class to benefit by the nationalisation of British railways would be the capitalist class.

The Socialist Party are quite aware of course, that the taking over of the railways by the State is inevitably in the trend of social evolution, and really to take the precious document we have been discussing altogether seriously is perhaps to perform an operation very like breaking a butterfly on a wheel. But a superficial reading of the pamphlet (and, unfortunately, the working class are at present but light skimmers on the waves of literature) is likely to prove detrimental to the forwarding of class-consciousness among the workers, and this, if nothing else, must be the excuse for a perhaps over-lengthy criticism.

F. J. W.

STATE RAILWAYS.

DURING the past twelve months or so there has issued from the Clarion Press a series of pamphlets, most of which for sheer misrepresentation and lack of logic are hard to beat. They are, we are told, "intended to explain the need for Socialism, to explain what Socialism is, and to suggest methods for the attainment of Socialism." It is said the way to hell is paved with good intentions, and certainly these wonderful expositions of the "Socialist" (Heaven save the mark!) position are well calculated to serve as pavement on a road leading to a hell of chaotic hopelessness.

Their latest pamphlet is entitled "State Railways." At the outset it is apparent that the author has no conception of the correct meaning of even the first word he uses. He tells us that "the State never dies," and from this and subsequent information he gives, his idea of what constitutes the State appears to be as vague as the New Theologians' idea of Christianity. Our author probably conceives of the State as an eternal principle, in existence when the first unicellular speck of living matter floated on the water, and thinks that it will still exist when the planet on which we live is cold and dead.

It seems necessary to reiterate *ad nauseum*, that the State, as we know it to-day, is nothing but an organisation of the exploited in subjection.

The writer of the pamphlet tells us that the main question to be considered is whether under State ownership and management the railways of the United Kingdom could and would provide better and cheaper transit than under the present system. He shows conclusively that cheaper transit would be provided, but carefully keeps as far in the background as possible the fact that it could only be at the expense of the workers. As a matter of fact, later on he points out that the Railway Clearing House would be unnecessary under nationalisation, and calculates that the services of 10,000 at present connected with the same could be dispensed with, and a matter of £1,000,000 per annum (including the saving on office accommodation) saved under this head alone. He, however, slurs over the fact that this sum is saved at the expense of the 10,000 persons rendered unnecessary by the abolition of the Railway Clearing House.

The remainder of the pamphlet is taken up principally by extracts of reports from Directors of various British and foreign railways, which all tend to show that railway combines and the nationalisation of railways mean greater economy, advantages to the shareholders, and more revenue to the State. There is nothing here, however, of the slightest benefit to the worker. On the contrary, each of these items being to the advantage of the capitalist class, necessarily reacts to the disadvantage of the worker.

"It is impossible to deal with the evil of drunkenness so long as the people live in intolerable homes."

Lord Crewe in the debate upon the second reading of the Town Planning Bill.

Humph! Therefore, then, the Licensing Bill of last year and all the I.L.P. support that measure had? Remarkable, isn't it, how the cat will sometimes get out of the bag?

"Most interesting was the address to the Economic Science and Statistics section British Association at Winnipeg by Prof. Chapman who examined the problem of the value of leisure, the bearing of industrial development upon it, and its effectiveness in shaping economic arrangements. The character of much of the world's work, he said, had changed, and with that change had come a difference in the demands made upon leisure.

These changes all tended to specialisation, to concentration, both in working and in leisure, and to constant demands for the curtailment of the working hours of the day. In the course of long investigation he had found no instance in which an abbreviation of hours had resulted in a proportionate curtailment of output. There was, indeed, every reason to suppose that the production in the shorter, seldom fell short of the production in the longer hours, in some cases the product or its value had been augmented."

Doesn't look as though the 8-hour day would abolish unemployment, does it? No, only Socialism will secure a comfortable livelihood to all and such leisure as industrial advance now for the first time makes possible.

X.

POWDER AND SHOT.

"Startling assertions as to the condition of the workers of Lancashire are made by Dr. Frank Percival, Medical Superintendent of Prestwick Asylum in his annual report to the Lancashire Asylums Board.

"The County, says Dr. Percival, has become dominated by a system of Commercialism, by which power and wealth are unevenly distributed and for thousands of persons permission to live was only granted upon conditions of labour compared to which the lot of the old Negro slaves was princely. The greatness of the nation was judged by its imports and exports rather than the happiness and welfare of the people. Children worked in factories and women, to get back to work, neglected the duties of motherhood, for which alone they were created. The inevitable result was the production of a large proportion of candidates for the asylums. He felt convinced, and the conviction had been growing upon him for years, that poverty was the greatest cause of alcoholic intemperance. Suitable convalescent homes on the coast might convert many patients to permanent recoveries instead of swelling the list of recurrences."

"The worthy doctor suggests the remedy in stating the cause, and then flops to the obviously inadequate and faint-hearted proposal that closes the quotation.

He, however, is certainly in no worse case than that the "spokesmen of labour," who, after correctly stating the cause of unemployment, proceeded to advocate, not the abolition of that cause, but trifling measures that, when adopted, must leave the problem still there.

"He could assure them that had it not been for an independent Labour party in the House of Commons much of the advanced legislation could not have been passed. Even if he were a Radical he would pray for a strong Labour party, to force the pace in the House.

Thus Mr. J. Parker, M.P., at Bexley Heath, (*Labour Leader*, 22.10.09).

It is very good of Mr. Parker to help us in the task of making clear to the workers that he and the Labour Party are so useful to the Radical Party.

December 1st, 1909.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	H. Martin	J. H. Halls	A. Barker
" Earlsfield, Magdalene Road	7.30	H. Newman	H. Joy	J. E. Roe
Forest Gate, Sebert Rd.	11.30	H. Cooper	F. C. Watts	A. Barker
Finsbury Park	8.0	J. Fitzgerald	A. Jacobs	J. Kemble
Kensington Triangle	11.30	H. Newman	H. Joy	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	"	F. Dawkins	J. Kennett	A. Anderson
Paddington, Prince of Wales	T. W. Allen	H. Martin	T. W. Allen	F. Dawkins
Peckham Triangle	7.30	A. Barker	H. Martin	F. C. Watts
Tooting Broadway	11.30	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	H. Newman
" Tottenham, West Green Crn.	11.30	A. W. Pearson	F. Dawkins	A. Barker
" Walthamstow, Hoe st. Stn.	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	H. Joy
Wandsworth, Buckhold Road	8.0	A. Anderson	R. Kent	A. Pearson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	R. Kent	A. W. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald
"	7.30	H. Joy	R. Fox	R. Fox
			H. Newman	T. W. Allen

MONDAYS.—Earlsfield, Magdalene Rd., 8.30. Queen's-square, Upton Pk., 8. Islington, Highbury, Crn., 8.30.**TUESDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Walham Green, Church, 8. Plaistow, Greengate, 8.**THURSDAYS.**—Battersea, Princes Head, 8.30. East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Tottenham, St. Ann's Road, 8.30.**FRIDAYS.**—Paddington, Prince of Wales, 8.30. Tooting Broadway, 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Earlsfield, Magdalene Road, 7 p.m. Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m.

East Ham, Ruskin Avenue, 8.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

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30th—"The Evolution of the Working-Class Movement" R. H. KENT

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THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth b. "ad in the interest of the whole community."

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class-struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

To the Secretary,

.....Branch, S.P.G.B.

I hereby declare my adhesion to the above principles, and request enrolment as a member of The Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Signature.....

Address.....

.....

Date.....

SPECIAL NOTE.—This form cannot be accepted if detached from Declaration printed above." The complete column must be handed to branch Sec.